A Qualitative Case Study of a Collegiate Tennis Program's Sport Moral Atmosphere

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Thomas Patrick Valentini

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Dr. Nicole M. LaVoi, Dr. Diane M. Wiese-Bjornstal

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Dedication

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Abstract

Practitioners and supporters of sport anecdotally believe that sport ought to enhance and educate those who play. Improved moral functioning (often referred to as "character") is one of the most crucial "other things" that many parents, coaches, and administrators hope athletes learn through athletic participation. A problematic incongruence was the impetus for the current study. Competitive sport, one of our culture's prized character-building enterprises, does not always build character.

Solving the incongruence between sport as a character-building enterprise in theory and a character-depleting enterprise in practice requires a teleological shift that situates sport as a moral education endeavor. The question of how to facilitate the shift is of paramount importance. A small body of researchers explore, examine, and theorize connections between sport and various moral variables. One of the key conclusions of this previous research is that the collective norms and values of a team have an influence on the moral action of the team's members. To explain this relationship, researchers often point to the concept of moral atmosphere that originated in the moral education research of Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989).

The purpose of this study was to examine the concept of moral atmosphere, as developed by Power et al. (1989), including the sub-concepts of collective norms and institutional value, through a qualitative case study of one college sport program. A future application of this research may help coaches and athletes understand how to consciously and deliberately create and maintain high functioning moral atmospheres in collegiate sport so that team moral atmospheres can promote moral development for the group and individual team members. This cannot be done, however, without a study that

first examined one team community in light of Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) concept of moral atmosphere so that the collective norms and institutional valuing of a program that attempts to provide a moral education curriculum can be better understood. This moral atmosphere examination was the purpose of the present study.

Results of the study showed that collective norms and institutional value were closely related. High levels of institutional value and stages of community were correlated with team norms that were higher in degree of collectiveness, reasoned at higher stages, and that the team upheld more frequently than when the team's level of institutional value and stage of community were at lower levels. The results also showed that the development of a high functioning moral atmosphere required years of time and intention from the coach. Furthermore, the results suggest that team leaders had a crucial impact on the team's moral atmosphere, and that the coach and team members used narrative as tool to build institutional value, and to develop and promote collective norms.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Competitive sport and morality. Practitioners and supporters of sport, especially at the youth, high school, and collegiate levels, anecdotally believe that sport ought to enhance and educate those who play. A primary goal for athletes is to learn the requisite skills and strategies to improve their play in order to achieve result-based success in sport. Yet other developmental goals permeate athletic participation. Improved moral functioning (often referred to as "character") is one of the most crucial "other things" that many parents, coaches, and administrators hope athletes learn through athletic participation. A problematic incongruence is the impetus for the current study. Competitive sport, one of our culture's prized character-building enterprises, does not always build character.

The belief that sport ought to be a character-building mechanism pervades contemporary sport culture. Many parents, coaches, athletes, and administrators uncritically believe sport participation builds character in athletes of all ages (Coakley, 2010; Schneider, 2009). Sport psychologists and sport philosophers also argue that sport can be a context in which character improves and moral development occurs. Shields and Bredemeier (1995) write that sport can provide a "fertile environment for the development of character" (p. 219) as athletes interact with teammates and opponents in a rule-based achievement context. Sport philosophers (Clifford & Feezell, 1997) and positive youth development scholars (Weiss & Weise-Bjornstal, 2009) believe that sport can and should teach lessons of respect for the game, the teammate, the opponent, and

officials, and that these lessons are valuable and necessary for humans to develop self-understanding. Lemyre, Roberts, and Ommundsen (2002) suggest that competitive sport is a context for peer acceptance and status, and can thus aid in the moral development of participants.

Despite this evidence and scholarly contentions, an existing body of research (e.g.: Blair, 1985; Bredemeier, 1985; Bredemeier & Shields, 1986; Kavussanu & Roberts, 2001; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995; Weiss & Smith, 2002) shows that sport participation can actually impede rather than facilitate moral functioning. Bredemeier (1985) and Bredemeier and Shields (1986) showed that collegiate athletes morally function at lower levels than non-athletes. Similarly, Blair (1985) reported that frequent sport participants had lower moral functioning than those who participated less often. Shields and Bredemeier (1986) developed the concept of "game reasoning," a form of bracketed morality, to describe and explain the lower level moral functioning that occurs within the boundaries of playing fields.

In addition to research, countless anecdotal accounts exist of cheating, deception, excessive aggression, and other anti-social sport behaviors that support the theory of game reasoning. The illegal recruiting practices of major college athletics programs, academic fraud, the use of illegal performance enhancing drugs in Olympic and professional sports, and excessive trash talking and in-game violence are common examples of low level moral behavior in sporting contexts. Lumpkin, Stoll, and Beller (2003) argue that moral callousness occurs the longer that one participates in sport. Similarly, Jones and McNamee (2000) and Morgan (2006) note that sport often promotes a self-interested nature that can lead to less mature moral functioning.

In the spring of 2013 Rutgers University fired its men's basketball coach, Mike Rice, after videos surfaced showing Rice pushing, kicking, and throwing basketballs at his players while screaming homophobic and racist slurs at them during team practices. While public outcry against Rice was significant, there were also those who defended his teaching methods and behavior as part of the culture of competitive sport, or as tactics necessary to teach discipline, toughness, and character. Rice's physical, verbal, and emotional abuses and its supporters suggest that sport can lead to low level moral functioning and behavior in competition, athletic development, and the pursuit of victory. In order to help coaches morally educate athletes through sport participation, improved understanding of moral development in and through sport must occur. This improved understanding will hopefully in part lead to a lessening of the incongruence between sport as character building in theory and character depleting in practice.

Sport as a morally neutral activity. The incongruence between the belief that sport can and should build character and the growing research-based and anecdotal evidence that shows sport influences low moral functioning and anti-social behavior can be resolved. In order to facilitate the resolution, practitioners and researchers must first recognize that sports, on their own, are neither inherently good nor bad from a moral standpoint (Feezell, 1986; Jones & McNamee, 2000; Schneider, 2009; Simon, 2000; Torres & Hager, 2007). The games themselves are simply artificially constructed challenges involving various obstacles and rules to standardize the challenges and, in most cases, allow for multiple sides to compete with each other in the game (Suits, 1988, 2005).

Recognizing that sport is morally neutral enables the incongruence of sport as character building in theory and character inhibiting in practice to be lessened through adjustments in understanding of sport's ultimate purpose, or telos, and the meaning of competition. The first adjustment is to view sport as a form of human education rather than merely a proving ground of athletic superiority. The second is recognizing that competition can and should be a positive relationship between those who compete rather than an endeavor that positions opponents as obstacles preventing achievement.

Misguided purpose and misunderstood competition. The idea of sport enhancing human development for the good of the community dates at least as far back as Plato (Reid, 2007). Many practitioners and organizations champion the idea of sport building character, but the greater sport culture—especially at the professional and major college ranks—fails to approach sport as education of individuals for service to the community and the greater good. Sport is seen as a form of entertainment rather than education, and this culture and its consequences permeate the scholastic and youth levels (Coakley, 2008; Dryden, 2005). The exclusive goal of competitive sport becomes being better than others, and the focus is on doing whatever is necessary to achieve it. Stardom, money, and public recognition often stem from proving that one is better than others in their particular sport. This misguided purpose both produces and is fed by a win-at-all costs attitude that compromises the development of character in and through sport. At the very least, this purpose subordinates moral development and the treatment of the other in the name of being the best and winning the most (Morgan, 2006).

Despite permeating and dominating the current sport culture, the win-at-all costs mentality need not be the only way to approach sport. Recalling Plato's perspective, sport

can be viewed as an exercise in human education—including moral development. Howe (2004) describes sport's capacity to educate the whole person for the sake of the greater good, and that Plato's educational goals can be achieved in more modern times: "Consequently, self-development is ideally the development of physical competence in concert with psychic/moral competence. Sport is a means for humans to become themselves—to develop physically but also morally" (p. 218).

Competition brings individuals into relation with each other in the sporting context. How they relate depends upon why they are there in the first place. If it is only to separate winners from losers and to demonstrate superiority, then competitors will likely adopt a contest-as-war perspective in which the opponent is depersonalized. Shields and Bredemeier (2009) coin the term "decompetition" to describe this "striving against" perspective of competition.

Hyland (1988) connects the human developmental purpose of sport with competition. He argues that the highest and best form of competition is a form of friendship because competition, based on its Latin root *competitio*, should fundamentally be understood as striving or questioning together or with another. Shields and Bredemeier (2009) expand Hyland's (1988) view of competition as friendship. The approach of striving together reflects a metaphor of contest as partnership where opponents are valued, respected, and needed. For Shields and Bredemeier (2009) this is "true competition." This version of competition stems from an educational and developmental purpose of sport and facilitates making moral development a primary goal in the sporting context.

Athletes, coaches, parents, and administrators cannot simply expect that playing sport will lead to moral growth. They must make moral development a primary and stated purpose, and its pursuit a specific goal of athletic participation. The framework for doing so is readily available. Sport can be an excellent context for the practice of justice and care with teammates and opponents. Opponents interact with one another in competitive situations. Rules require justice to the degree that they ensure a fair contest, but they might be upheld or broken based on various levels of moral reasoning and action. Most sports do not mandate any type of care in opponent interaction, yet if opponents are to compete in the truest sense of the term, they must treat one another as necessary partners. This approach to competition, combined with purposeful human development, allows competitive sport to be a useful environment for moral education.

The problem of moral atmosphere. If one subscribes to the notion that solving the incongruence between sport as a character-building enterprise in theory and a character-depleting enterprise in practice requires a teleological shift that situates sport as a moral education endeavor centered on a view of competition as a mutual striving together, then the question of how to facilitate the shift takes on paramount importance. A small body of researchers explores, examines, and theorizes connections between sport and various moral variables. These connections will be elaborated on in Chapter Two. One of the key conclusions of this previous research is that the collective norms and values of a team have an influence on the moral action of the team's members. To explain this relationship, researchers often point to the concept of moral atmosphere that originated in the moral education research of Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989). The concept of moral atmosphere developed as a

way of assessing the just community approach to moral education, and includes collective norms and values that influence the moral reasoning and behavior of community members. The community shapes the shared conscience through its norms and values, but the community norms and values also shape the moral functioning of individual members (Power et al., 1989).

One important gap currently exists within sport moral atmosphere academic research. In creating the concept of moral atmosphere, Power, Higgins, and Kohlberg (1989) never assessed the moral atmosphere of competitive athletic teams. They worked primarily in school settings. Even though a good deal of sport morality research points to team norms as an influencing factor on the moral functioning of individual team members, there is no work that explores how the moral atmosphere—collective norms and institutional value—is formed, developed, and understood by team members in light of Power et al.'s (1989) conception and description of the concept.

In sport, Shields and Bredemeier (1995) note that team norms are shaped by team members and coaches as well as by the conventions of particular sports. The bulk of moral atmosphere research, however, samples athletes of multiple ages in different sports at different levels. While there may be guiding, universal principles such as justice or care that substantiate the moral reasoning behind appropriate moral behavior in all sports, what constitutes appropriate moral behavior differs widely by sport. For example, a golfer is expected to call a rule infraction on herself, while a softball pitcher would not be expected to overturn an umpire's "strike" call even if she knew—with complete certainty—that her pitch was outside of the strike zone. Furthermore, what constitutes appropriate moral behavior often differs within the same sport. Take fighting in ice

hockey, for instance. The practice is not allowed at the youth, scholastic, collegiate, and international levels, but is permissible, and often encouraged, in the professional ranks. Power et al. (1989) were interested in determining what members of a particular community would do in a moral dilemma based on their membership in their community. The level of competition, age of the participants, as well as the coach and traditions of a particular team or program may all impact a team moral atmosphere, but those who examine moral atmosphere in sport have not yet explored a specific team moral atmosphere utilizing Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) moral education theory.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to examine the concept of moral atmosphere, as developed by Power et al. (1989), including the sub-concepts of collective norms and institutional value, through a qualitative case study of one college sport program. A future application of this research may help coaches and athletes understand how to consciously and deliberately create and maintain high functioning moral atmospheres in collegiate sport so that team moral atmospheres can promote moral development for the group and individual team members. This data would be useful in the process of promoting sport as a positive moral educational endeavor, and in shrinking the problematic incongruence of sport as character-building in theory, but character-depleting in practice. This step cannot be taken, however, until the gap in the sport morality literature is addressed with a study that examines one team community in light of Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) concept of moral atmosphere so that the collective norms and institutional valuing of a program that attempts to provide a moral education

curriculum can be better understood. This moral atmosphere examination was the purpose of the present study.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Positioning Moral Atmosphere in Moral Education and Sport Morality Literature

In order for moral atmosphere, as conceived by Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al. (1989), to be effectively researched, better understood in sports teams, and to become a tool that can promote positive moral education for the members of these teams, its history and development must be traced and properly situated within moral development and education literature. The moral atmosphere concept has also been included in a body of literature that explores moral development and character education in and through sport. This review of literature summarizes the conceptualization of moral atmosphere both in general and in sports in particular. Ultimately, moral atmosphere will be positioned as a useful means for understanding moral education in the context of competitive athletics, and questions pertaining to how moral atmosphere in the sport domain is best studied and understood will be posed and subsequently answered.

Kohlberg and Moral Development

Lawrence Kohlberg conceptualized the notion of moral atmosphere in the structural developmental tradition of moral development. This approach to moral education centers on the student's participation in moral dilemma discussions, interaction with peers, and involvement in a democratic school culture. Jean Piaget, a Swiss psychologist, was a primary influence on Kohlberg's evolving thought and eventual cognitive approach to moral development. Piaget's (1932, 1947, 1970) theory of cognitive development forms the base of the much of the structural developmental tradition of moral development. For Piaget, all knowledge is constructed and organized

through thought and action. Individuals progress cognitively and develop morally as this organizing process becomes more complex through individuals' interactions with others and their environment. Piaget argued that children are moral philosophers because of the active nature in which they construct their understanding of right and wrong. The individual child and her peers are the focal point of their own moral formation. They will not develop most effectively if adults indoctrinate them. Piaget (1970) argued that adults should not force moral development on students, but rather should facilitate the type of social interaction that would lead students to face dilemmas and create solutions that lead to more meaningful understanding and thus greater moral development.

A key goal of moral development for Piaget is fostering movement from heteronomous morality to autonomous morality (Snarey & Samuelson, 2008). Piaget (1947, 1970) describes heteronomous morality as based on unilateral respect for authorities and their rules. This approach favors obedience and conformity, and holds outcomes as more important than intentions or reasoning. Punishment is concrete and ensures fair outcomes. Autonomous morality is based on mutual respect, reciprocity, and equality among peers. Fairness centers on cooperation and exchange, concepts that are mutually defined and agreed upon. Intentionality is critical to understanding action and is considered alongside consequences. The autonomous approach favors reciprocity rather than atonement as a form of punishment (Snarey & Samuelson, 2008). Although Piaget did not view these types of morality as stages, he viewed autonomous morality as the more favorable approach. Piaget clearly believed in movement toward and development of autonomous morality as the best means to prepare children for adult citizenship.

Kohlberg's stages of moral development. Kohlberg's early work on moral

development was closely aligned with that of Piaget, and in many ways—such as seeing the child as moral philosopher—would always remain so (Power et al., 1989). This is most evident in Kohlberg's famous levels and stages of moral development. In his doctoral dissertation, Kohlberg (1958) gathered responses from boys, ages ten to sixteen, on hypothetical moral dilemmas. He then categorized their responses into six patterns based on the reasoning of the responses. These patterns corresponded closely, although not exclusively, to the boys' ages. Kohlberg presented them as developmental levels of moral judgment (Power et al., 1989). The categorization prioritized justice as the universal moral principle, and is broken down into three levels with two stages per level.

In the first, or Pre-conventional Level are Stage 1: Obedience and Punishment Orientation (sometimes called heteronomous morality), and Stage 2: Individualism and Exchange. In Stage 1, avoiding the breaking of rules is seen as the right thing to do in order to avoid punishment from authorities. In Stage 2, people follow rules when it is to their own benefit, and act according to their own interests. The same is expected from others, and the concept of equal exchange in agreements is crucial. In this stage people see what is right as relative to their own needs and act accordingly (Kohlberg, 1984).

The second, or Conventional Level consists of the third and fourth stages. Stage 3 reasoning focuses on interpersonal relationships. In the third stage, people see living up to what is expected of them or their social roles as the right thing to do in order to be a good person in their own eyes and those of others. In Stage 4 reasoning people focus on maintaining social order and the fulfilling of duties to which one has agreed. Doing right means fulfilling these duties, upholding the law except in extreme cases where they conflict with other social duties, and contributing to the group or social institution. This is

done all in the name of keeping the system going, because if everyone chose otherwise, the social unit would collapse (Kohlberg, 1981, 1984).

The Post-conventional Level is the third level of Kohlberg's theory. Stage 5 reasoning is based on social contract and individual rights. In this level individuals are aware that other people hold a variety of values and opinions, most of which are relative to a group. These values are a social contract and should be upheld out of a sense of obligation to the group and the protection of all people. (An important note here, however, is that Kohlberg believes that some values are non-relative and should be upheld in every society regardless of majority opinion. His examples are the values or rights of life and liberty). This stage begins to show the tension in which Kohlberg holds social contract and autonomy. Reasoning in the sixth stage is based on universal moral principles. Doing what is right means following self-chosen ethical principles upon which laws and social agreements are based. Justice is the key universal moral principle for Kohlberg. This leads to human rights and the equality of all people. The reasoning for doing right is the belief that rational human beings ought to be committed to universal moral principles and treat all humans as ends rather than means to other ends (Kohlberg, 1981, 1984).

As noted above, Kohlberg's stage theory grows out of Piaget's work on the child as a moral philosopher (Power et al., 1989). It is based on the ideas that reasoning or intent makes an action moral, and that human beings will make good moral decisions if they know the right thing to do. The stage theory is also based on the notion that the progression through stages can occur through discussion about reasoning related to moral dilemmas although the stages cannot directly predict action because stage reasoning can

be used to support multiple different actions. Ultimately, Kohlberg believed that exposure to reasoning at higher levels than one's own will lead to cognitive mismatches which then spur development to the higher stage (Power et al., 1989).

Kohlberg viewed the progression from lower to higher moral stage reasoning as natural in that it cuts across cultures and is a part of the human cognitive developmental process. Social interaction activates and stimulates this process and leads humans toward an understanding of universal moral principles. Ultimately, this natural progression can be stunted or enhanced based on environmental conditions. For Piaget and Kohlberg, conditions in which an individual can make moral choices are ideal for promoting this development (Snarey & Samuelson, 2008). Kohlberg (1981, 1984; Power et al., 1989) believed that educators ought to create an environment that facilitates the natural progression of moral development.

Kohlberg's Transition from Moral Development to Moral Education

Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1924, 1925) also believed in the importance of the social environment in moral education. A contemporary of Piaget, Durkheim held a different view of moral education than Piaget. His approach focused on the direct teaching of values and character traits often through role modeling and reinforcement of good behavior. The agent primarily responsible for development is the moral authority—a parent, teacher, or coach, for example—rather than the student and her peers. Durkheim's (1925) approach focused on collective socialization and cultural transmission. Through these processes, an individual learns the societal norms about what to think, feel, and do from role models and teachers. Durkheim (1924, 1925) argued that collective social norms are the best way to teach moral character.

In Durkheim, Kohlberg (1984) found no room for autonomy to facilitate the natural progression through stages, or to allow the child to be a moral philosopher. As Kohlberg initially read Durkheim, he saw only grounds for dangerous conformity and stifling indoctrination. However, Kohlberg's approach to and use of Durkheim would eventually shift after Kohlberg had more experiences working with children in schools. This shift would have an influence on the development of the concept of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989).

Kohlberg (1984) leaned heavily on Piaget in his critique of Durkheim (1924, 1925) as conformist and stifling to autonomy. Yet Kohlberg would come to reconsider Durkheim in light of John Dewey's work on moral education (Power et al., 1989). In this reconsideration, Kohlberg found portions of Durkheim's social approach to morality to be useful in concert with his Piagetian commitments. Kohlberg's turn to Durkheim through Dewey represents the beginning of a synthesis of models to create a meaningful approach of moral education that develops, examines, and transforms both reasoning and behavior. The concept of moral atmosphere would eventually emerge from this development.

Durkheim's problematic cultural socialization. Piaget considered his moral development approach to be the opposite of Durkheim's (1925) cultural socialization approach (Snarey & Samuelson, 2008). Because Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development had deep roots in Piaget's work, his early rejection of Durkheim seemed appropriate. Durkheim's (1924, 1925) model became more attractive to Kohlberg, however, as he moved his focus to moral education in schools. Kohlberg believed deeply that "the aim of developmental moral education has to be a change in the life of the

school as well as in the development of individual students" (Power et al., 1989, p. 20). His reading of Durkheim through the lens of John Dewey (1916, 1938, 1955a, 1955b, 1955c) furthered his understanding of how to accomplish this aim.

The key to Durkheim's (1925) cultural socialization approach is cultural or collective social transmission through which a person learns the collective norms of a society. Social groups indoctrinate norms of the group into the individual through instruction, explanation, role modeling, and reinforcement. Durkheim (1925) applied these basic elements to morality, which he also believed to be a social endeavor. He argued that moral education needed to promote social solidarity, group conformity, and mutual support in order to embed the social norms and make them an effective means of social control (Snarey & Samuelson, 2008). This led Kohlberg to view Durkheim as conformist, and his theory subject to moral relativism. Kohlberg found Durkheim to be extremely dangerous in that his reliance on social control could easily lead individuals to think and act on amoral or evil principles in the name of conformity to a particular social group (Power et al., 1989).

Yet Durkheim (1924, 1925) did not believe that the social norms were the ultimate means of social control because they are imposed on individuals by the larger structure, but because individuals voluntarily internalize them and thereby become a part of the enculturation process. Furthermore, Durkheim believed that any egotistical or self-serving action could not be moral as it leads to detachment from the group and its norms (1924, 1925). The spirit of altruism emerges as a young person comes to understand her identity in light of the group. Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989) would eventually move toward viewing Durkheim's (1925) attachment to social groups less as conformist and

relativist, and more as a necessity for social education, but only in light of Durkheim's inclusion of autonomy or self-determination.

Reconsidering Durkheim through Dewey. For Kohlberg, forcing individuals to become a part of group through indoctrination unguided by universal moral principles, such as justice, could not foster autonomy or moral development as he had laid out in his stage theory. Yet after studying and implementing multiple attempts of the just community approach to moral education in schools and other social groups, including the kibbutz (Power et al., 1989), Kohlberg did come to view the group as the unit of moral education. Still rejecting conformity and relativism, Kohlberg relied on John Dewey for the reconsideration of Durkheim that allowed him to integrate autonomy with Durkheim's emphasis on social groups as the units of moral development.

At the heart of Dewey's (1916, 1938, 1959a, 1959b, 1959c) educational philosophy lies the belief that the school is a primary tool in helping young people become better members of a pluralistic and democratic society. Dewey (1916) writes:

> The intermingling in the school of youth of different races, differing religions, and unlike customs creates for all a new and broader environment. Common subject matter accustoms all to a unity of outlook upon a broader horizon than is visible to the members of any group while it is isolated. (p. 21)

The most important piece of this common subject matter, for Dewey, is democracy, and it should be learned, experienced, and practiced in a democratic school. Students ought to learn academic material, but they must also learn to be citizens in a democratic, moral society while at school. Durkheim (1925) gave Kohlberg a concrete—but potentially dangerous—understanding of the moral force of the social unit. Dewey (1916, 1959b)

advanced Kohlberg's understanding of the processes by which the school became a social unit where morality could be both studied and practiced.

A final piece of Kohlberg's successful adaptation of Durkheim was also due to the influence of Dewey—autonomy does not remove the individual from her ties or obligations to society. Dewey declares that social morality cannot come without individual autonomy. He writes: "It would then be absurd to suppose that 'social morals' meant a swallowing up of individuality in an anonymous mass, or an abdication of personal responsibility in decision and action" (Dewey, 1994, p. 189). Concern for the self and the other are equally important and both ought to be a part of morality. In fact, Dewey (1938) views the social group as the only place suitable for the development of individuality. It is this individuality that allows the cultivation of the autonomy that prevents the conformity and relativism that Kohlberg initially rejected in Durkheim.

Certainly Kohlberg remained a constructivist and structural developmentalist. His inclusion of Durkheim did not lessen his commitment to the concept of individuals constructing their own modes of moral judgment. Yet his turn to Durkheim and willingness to adopt crucial elements from outside his own school of thought to develop a model of moral education was an attempt to discover the best way to promote moral development. The concept of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) emerged from this pursuit.

There are some theories that further inform the bi-directional shaping process of moral education where individuals both shape and are impacted their community, and the concept of moral atmosphere while synergizing the moral development and character education approaches. They include MacIntyre (1984) on the cultivation of virtue through

social practice, Bourdieu's (1977, 2000) concept of habitus as a means of cultivating social, embodied knowledge, Rest's (1984) theory of moral functioning, and Narvaez's (2008) Integrative Ethical Education and moral expertise development. These theories do not directly help address or answer the research questions of this investigation, but do enhance understanding of moral education through moral atmosphere, and therefore were utilized in analysis and illuminating nuanced results when appropriate. Given the focus of the current project, the primary theoretical foundation was the concept of moral atmosphere as conceived by Power et al. (1989).

Theoretical Framework: Moral Atmosphere

Kohlberg and colleagues developed the just community approach to schooling in order to create a school culture where students could morally develop by participating in the life and functioning of the school in a democratic fashion. The first installment of just community schooling was at the Cluster School in Cambridge, Massachusetts in the mid-1970s (Power et al., 1989). The concept of moral atmosphere developed as a way of assessing the just community approach to moral education.

The just community approach has two major goals. The first is to foster the moral development of individual students. The second is to transform the school into a moral community (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008). This second purpose makes moral education in the just community approach a community affair. The morality of a group cannot, however, be understood or measured in exactly the same ways as that of the individual. Power and Higgins-D'Alessandro (2008) state:

> The appeal to this shared conscience is not intended to be a report of what most students believe so much as an effort to speak for the ideals of the community as a

> whole as if the community were a unified entity greater than the sum of its parts. (p. 242)

Power et al. (1989) constructed the concept of moral atmosphere to examine characteristics of this group morality, including two primary characteristics—institutional value and collective norms.

Tagiuri (1968) influenced Kohlberg and his colleagues' thinking on moral atmosphere. He divides school climate into four dimensions: ecology, milieu, social system, and culture. Ecology includes physical characteristics such as school size. The milieu reflects a combination of the characteristics of the student and teacher populations such as social economic status. The social system refers to the structures that guide the ways in which school decisions get made. Culture, with which just community research is most concerned, grows out of the interaction of the ecology, milieu, and social system. The culture develops based on the other three dimensions, but the culture can also influence the ecology, milieu, and social system of the school (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008). Moral atmosphere deals with the interactions among community members through which this culture emerges. The collective norms and institutional value of the community are the means by which the moral culture is created, made more just, and transmitted to community members. This process of "enculturation" (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008, p. 236) through the moral atmosphere leads to the moral culture as described by Power (2008): "A school's moral culture, therefore, refers to a shared conscience as distinct from an aggregate of individual consciences" (p. 277). The development of this shared conscience through moral atmosphere involves Durkheim's (1925) collective socialization and cultural transmission in concert with Dewey's (1916,

1938) promotion of individual autonomy through the democratic functioning of a community.

Institutional value. Based on Dewey's emphasis on learning through experience, schools that want to promote moral development in students must give those students opportunities to practice justice. The real life issues of the school become the basis for the development of the community's shared norms and values. When comparing transcripts from the first to the second year of the Cluster School's community meetings, institutional value emerged as one measure that helped describe changes in the group's moral functioning (Power et al., 1989). Institutional value describes the extent to which students feel connected to the community. Power et al. (1989) conceptualized five levels (0 to 4) of institutional valuing ranging from "rejection" (Level 0) where the students do not value the school at all, to "normative community" (Level 4), where students intrinsically value the school community, are obligated in special ways by the community, and expect others to uphold community norms and responsibilities (p. 117). Power et al. (1989) also assessed institutional value in terms of stage of community, which measures the group members' shared understanding of community. At the highest stage, "the community is explicitly valued as an entity distinct from the relationships among its members. Membership in the community is understood in terms of entering into a social contract to respect the norms and ideals of the group" (p. 119).

Collective norms. The second key component of moral atmosphere is the collective norm. Shared norms are closely related to institutional value and define "…what is expected from group members *qua* group members, in their attitudes…and in their actions" (Power et al., 1989, p. 120). Kohlberg and colleagues assessed collective

norms in four ways: (a) the degree of collectiveness of the norm; (b) the type or content of the norm; (c) the phase of acceptance of the norm; and (d) the stage of the norm. Fifteen degrees (1 to 15) are used to measure the degree of collectiveness of a particular norm. The degrees range in collectiveness from Degree 1="I—Rejection," to Degree 15="We—Collective." Four categories are used to measure the type of norm: norms of community, substantive fairness, procedural fairness, and order. Eight phases (0 to 7) are used to categorize the degree to which the norms are rooted or institutionalized in the community. At Phase 0, no collective norm exists, while at Phases 6 and 7 the collective norms are expected and upheld through persuasion and reporting, respectively. (Power et al., 1989).

Finally, the norms are assessed in terms of their moral stage. Fitting the collective norms into stages is difficult because the norms represent more than the moral reasoning stage of each individual. The group norms cannot be reduced to the combined moral reasoning stages of the individual group members, but rather are derived from individuals' "actual interactions or performances in a group context" (Power et al., 1989, p. 137). While the scale of stages for the norms mirrors Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning for individuals, the understanding of collective stages differs from Kohlberg's individual stages in two important ways. First, the norms of the group do not necessarily need to start at Stage 0 or Stage 1. Second, group norms may regress in stage because experienced members of groups may eventually move out of the community and new, less experienced members may join (Power et al., 1989). Despite these differences and the difficulty of measuring collective norms in stages, the attempt to code the stage of the

collective norms is a must in order for the assessment of the school climate to be a moral endeavor (Power et al., 1989).

With their work on moral atmosphere, Power et al. (1989) extend their definition of morality to include obligations of group membership. This turn to moral education as contextual and the business of the community does not make Kohlberg and colleagues communitarians removed from their formalist commitments. Justice is still at the heart of moral development and the goal of group morality. The turn does, however, make clear that the contents of atmosphere and culture are vital to both individual moral development and the transformation of groups into moral communities.

Ultimately, the moral atmosphere creates moral culture, but is also influenced by moral culture. The community shapes the shared conscience through its norms and values, but the culture also shapes the individual members and their shared norms and values. Power and Higgins-D'Alessandro (2008) assert that

> Members of the community not only buy into the existing culture of the school but dedicate themselves to transform that culture by making it more just. In this way the community undergoes constant transformation as it also transforms its members. (p. 236)

Moral atmosphere describes the way in which this transforming moral culture shapes and is shaped by the members of a community.

Research on moral variables in sport has been plentiful. Moral atmosphere is one of these variables, but has not been the most prominent. The remainder of this chapter examines literature on moral atmosphere in schools and then situates sport moral atmosphere studies in the landscape of research on moral variables in sport. The review

ends with an examination of research on moral atmosphere in sport in order to identify the gaps in the existing body of research.

School Moral Atmosphere

Kohlberg and colleagues developed the concept of moral atmosphere as a way of assessing the just community approach to moral education (Power et al., 1989). Since that time, the work of Kohlberg and colleagues has led to some moral atmosphere research in schools. This research includes the development and use of two pencil-and-paper measures to quantitatively measure moral atmosphere.

Higgins and Power developed the School Culture Scale (SCS) (Higgins-D'Alessandro & Sadh, 1997). The SCS assesses the moral values and norms of school by asking students to report on what is true for the their schools and a majority of people in them in order to identify perceptions about the school culture rather than individual attitudes about the school. Higgins-D'Alessandro and Sadh (1997) found four factors combining to account for 50–60% of the variance in students' views of the school: (a) students' relationships with peers; (b) students' relationships with teachers; (c) school norms like cheating, stealing, and vandalism; and (d) democratic and educational opportunities. The SCS measure has also been used to assess the impact of character education programs on school culture (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008).

The second test is the School Moral Atmosphere Questionnaire (SMAQ) developed by Host, Brugman, Tavecchio, and Beem (1998). This pencil-and-paper test uses a framework similar to that of Power et al. (1989) in their assessment of the culture of just community schools. Using secondary schools at four different education levels

and with various parochial affiliations, the authors found significant differences between moral atmospheres of different schools can and do exist.

Since the development of the SMAQ (Host et al., 1998), other researchers have used the measure and found it to be valid, reliable, and useful for measuring students' perceptions of school moral culture (Brugman, Heymans, Boom, Podolskij, Karabanova, & Idobaeva, 2003; Brugman & Aleva, 2004; Mancini, Frugeri, & Panari, 2006). These researchers found: (a) that an increase in the level of students' unanimity of perception of moral atmosphere will decrease norm transgressive behavior and increase prosocial behavior in the school; (b) that moral atmosphere is a predictor of both norm transgressive and prosocial behavior; and (c) that a low functioning moral atmosphere was a better indicator of antisocial behavior than low moral reasoning competence.

Research on moral atmosphere in schools, as the construct was developed by Power et al. (1989), has been somewhat limited, but existing data indicates that moral atmosphere influences behavior. The SMAQ and SCS research demonstrates the importance of focusing on the moral atmosphere and not just individual moral development. Yet the researchers conducting these studies have only used quantitative methods. Furthermore, this literature reveals difficulty in measuring moral cultures in schools that do not pursue the goal of becoming a moral community. This is because without genuinely shared norms and values at the communal level, students can only speak as individuals about other individuals in their community (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008). Therefore, a study designed to examine the moral atmosphere of a group ought to focus on a group that intentionally desires to become a moral community,

and should use qualitative methods to capture the complexity of the moral atmosphere (Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

In addition to the school moral atmosphere research, fairly extensive moral functioning research focused on physical education classroom contexts also exists. This group of studies is particularly focused on intervention and moral education in physical education settings (e.g.: Bredemeier, Weiss, Shields, & Shewchuck, 1986; Ennis, 1999; Gibbons & Ebbeck, 1997; Gibbons, Ebbeck, & Weiss, 1995; Romance, Weiss, & Bockoven, 1986; Solomon 1997a, 1997b). Shields and Bredemeier (2007) point out that almost no work has been done on moral education in competitive athletics. Next is a brief review of the moral variables that have been studied in sport morality research before an exploration of the limited amount of sport moral atmosphere research and the literature gaps filled by the present study.

Moral Variables in Sport

Shields and Bredemeier (2007) make a distinction between moral behavior and prosocial behavior. Prosocial behavior involves action that benefits another regardless of the motivation behind the action. In order for someone to act morally, however, she must do the right thing for the right reason. They also point out that moral research in sports exposes possible causal relationships between predictors of moral behavior and the way athletes behave, but these relationships are multiple and extremely complex. This might explain why so little work on team moral atmosphere has been conducted. Despite this complexity and the challenges that it produces in the study of morality in sport, there have been several lines of research that have increased the understanding of sport morality. These lines of research include the study of both personal and contextual factors

that shape morality in sport. The key studies on personal factors are influential for, but not directly related to, the key research question of the present project. They include the connections between sport participation and values (e.g.: Lee & Cockman, 1995), sportsmanship (or sportspersonship) (e.g.: Vallerand, Briere, Blanchard & Provencher, 1997), moral reasoning in sport (e.g.: Beller & Stoll, 1995), a form of bracketed morality in sport known as game reasoning (Bredemeier & Shields, 1984a, 1986b), and moral functioning in sport (e.g.: Bredemeier, Weiss, Shields, & Cooper, 1987).

While a detailed review of each of these lines of research is outside the scope of the present investigation, it is important to note this existing research moved the discussion on sport morality from a description of behaviors to an exploration of the reasoning behind the behaviors. This shift led researchers such as Shields and Bredemeier (2007) to a deeper appreciation for the complexity involved with the study of moral variables in sport, and the identification of the need to study contextual factors that impact sport morality in addition to personal factors.

Contextual factors and sport moral functioning. Researchers have found contextual factors, in addition to one's personal moral reasoning, to be influential on the moral functioning of athletes (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995, 2007). The contextual factors that influence the moral reasoning and functioning of individual athletes are the motivational climate (Ames, 1992) and the moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989).

Motivational climate. Motivational climate (Ames, 1992) is an important contextual influence on moral functioning that has been studied, often in conjunction or interaction with moral atmosphere. Ames (1992) describes two types of motivational climate. A mastery motivational climate focuses on cooperation among team members,

and emphasizes effort and improvement. This climate tends to promote task involvement. A performance motivational climate promotes rivalry among team members, emphasizes punishment for mistakes and a focus on competitive results. This climate leads to ego involvement.

This body of research (e.g.: Kavussanu & Ntoumanis, 2003; Kavussanu & Spray, 2006; Kavussanu, Roberts, & Ntoumanis, 2002; Miller, Roberts, & Ommundsen, 2004; Ommundsen, Roberts, Lemyre, & Treasure, 2003) generally shows that athletes' perception of a performance motivational climate tends to correlate to negative moral behavior such as cheating and aggression, while perception of a mastery climate tends to show higher levels of moral functioning. Furthermore, scholars also suggest that team norms, a key component of team moral atmosphere, have a significant influence on the moral functioning of athletes.

Moral atmosphere. A team's moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) is one of most important influential contextual factors on the process of athletes' moral functioning. Specific studies involving moral atmosphere in sport are described in detail in subsequent sections of this review (e.g.: Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Shields, Bredemeier, Gardner, & Bostrom, 1995; Stephens, 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996; Stephens, Bredemeier, & Shields 1997; Stephens & Kavanagh, 2003). While the samples, design, and measures of the studies vary from study to study, through this body of research scholars express that group norms, a key component of a moral atmosphere according Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989), are a significant and influential factor on the moral functioning of a group and its individual members (Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

Moral Atmosphere in Sport

Kohlberg and colleagues (Higgins et al., 1984; Power et al., 1989) as well as other researchers that explored moral atmospheres in schools (Higgins-D'Alessandro & Sadh, 1997; Host et al., 1998; Brugman et al., 2003; Mancini et al., 2006) showed that the collective norms of a group can have a strong influence on individual group members. Applying moral atmosphere work in schools to the athletic arena, Shields and Bredemeier (2008) write: "…it seems likely that a team's shared norms are important influences on the moral reasoning and behavior of individual team members" (p. 506).

Moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) is one of the primary social contextual factors studied in sport morality literature, and various researchers have studied the moral atmosphere concept in sport settings using a host of different methods (Kavussanu & Spray, 2006). One subset of this research is the study of moral atmosphere in relation to the self-reported likelihood to aggress against an opponent (e.g. Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Stephens 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996). This group of studies shows that across a number of different sports, ages, and genders, the pro-aggressive norms of the team are the most significant predictor of individual team members' self-reported likelihood to aggress.

A second subset of moral atmosphere research involves studies that examine the connections between moral atmosphere and various facets of moral functioning based on Rest's (1983, 1984) four-component model (including judgment, intention, and behavior), while also focusing on the role of teammates and coaches within the moral atmosphere (e.g.: Kavussanu et al., 2002; Stuart & Ebbeck, 1995; Vallerand, Deshaies, Cuerrier, Briere, & Pelletier, 1997). Similar to the previous line of research, this group of

studies shows that the norms of the team are the most significant influence on moral judgment, intention, and a variety of behaviors in addition to aggression.

This second line of moral atmosphere research focuses on the relationship between moral atmosphere and motivational climate (Ames, 1992). Results in these studies have been mixed, but in general, researchers suggest that a mastery motivational climate connects to a high functioning moral atmosphere, and a performance climate relates to a low functioning moral atmosphere. An examination of the key studies and findings from each of these lines of research follows in order to help identify the gaps in the overall body of sport moral atmosphere literature that this investigation may help fill.

Sport moral atmosphere and aggression. Shields et al. (1995) performed one of the first sport moral atmosphere studies in order to develop the Team Norm Questionnaire (TNQ). The TNQ is designed to assess the strength of team norms prohibiting cheating or aggression by asking team members to estimate how many of their teammates would cheat or aggress if it meant winning an important game. The researchers then asked the team members the same question about the team's coach. The quantitative study establishes the relationship between moral atmosphere and behavior in the sporting context by showing that team norms do have an impact on team members' moral behavior. One notable aspect of the study is that authors looked at teams and stayed centered closely around one type of sport (baseball and softball). Finally, the authors' use of Kohlberg and colleagues' definition of moral atmosphere from Power et al. (1989) as the basis for their discussion and usage of moral atmosphere. These key characteristics are central to the importance of this study, and are common to the subsequent studies it spawned that examine sport moral atmospheres in conjunction with

cheating and aggression (Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Steinfeldt, Rutkowski, Vaughan, & Steinfeldt, 2011; Stephens, 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens et al., 1997; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996; Stephens & Kavanagh, 2003, 2007).

Moral atmosphere and aggression literature limitations. While this line of quantitative research makes important connections between moral atmosphere and sport behavior, and relies on Kohlberg and colleagues (Power at al., 1989) for its definition of moral atmosphere, its studies share similar limitations. First, the primary focus is on the influence of moral atmosphere on cheating and aggression, but neither additional negative behaviors (e.g., trash talking) nor positive sport behaviors (e.g., helping injured teammates, respecting officials, or complimenting opponents for good play) that might be influenced by moral atmosphere were explored. Secondly, this body of research bases results on the total number of respondents in the study rather than on each of the teams sampled. The moral culture of a specific team is never analyzed. Thus, while the studies are able to show that athlete perceptions of team norms have a significant influence on the behavior of athletes, the data do not allow for team moral atmosphere or team culture to be studied with the team as the unit of analysis. This data limits exploration of the moral atmosphere of a team, and limits focus only to the influence of an individual's perceptions of team norms on that individual's likelihood to cheat or aggress.

This line of research is also characterized by use of only quantitative methods, which highlights a gap in knowing. Due to the quantitative nature of the studies, depth of understanding of the influential team norms on cheating or aggression, and why they exist within the team community are lacking. The content of the norms themselves, and the group's understanding of and expectations based on these norms, cannot be examined

as Power et al. (1989) examined the content of and reasoning behind the norms of the just community schools. Some studies (Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Steinfeldt et al., 2011; Stephens, 2001) add nuance to the origin of the norms by showing the coach or significant team members to be highly influential on the team norms, but these data do not address the content of, or moral reasoning behind, the norms.

Finally, the studies on moral atmosphere and aggression all find team norms to be a significant predictor of cheating and aggression. This is the key, and most important finding for the purposes of the present investigation. Based on this finding, the authors (Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Steinfeldt et al., 2011; Stephens, 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996; Stephens et al., 1997; Stephens & Kavanagh, 2003, 2007) argue that moral atmosphere influences cheating and aggression. They do not, however, include the component of institutional value (Power et al., 1989) in their usage of the concept of moral atmosphere. For example, Stephens' (2004) description of moral atmosphere draws heavily from Kohlberg's conceptualization. Stephens (2004) asserts that Kohlberg's (Power et al., 1989) notion of transforming a group's moral atmosphere is perhaps the best means of moral education and should be applied to the sporting context based on the research in the sport domain that has conclusively shown the powerful influence of team norms on the behavior of individual team members. Yet Stephens does not include the moral atmosphere sub-concept of institutional value as part of her sport moral atmosphere examinations. Therefore her study, and the others in this body of literature, only study moral atmosphere, as conceived by Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) in part.

Sport moral atmosphere, moral functioning, and motivational climate. A second line of sport moral atmosphere research examines the connections between moral

atmosphere, perceived motivational climate (Ames, 1992), and moral functioning based on Rest's (1983, 1984) four-component model. Much of this research focuses on the role of teammates and coaches within the moral atmosphere (e.g.: Kavussanu et al., 2002). These studies (Kavussanu et al., 2002; Kavussanu & Spray, 2006; Miller et al., 2004; Ommundsen et al., 2003; Steinfeldt et al., 2011) vary in their connecting of moral atmosphere and motivational climate, but all scholars confirm the key finding from the work on moral atmosphere and cheating and aggression—team norms are a significant predictor of moral functioning.

Kavussanu et al. (2002) studied the relationship between moral atmosphere and motivational climate. They examined the role of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) and perceived performance motivational climate (Ames, 1992) on moral functioning (Rest, 1983, 1984) of college basketball players. They also sought to determine the relationship between moral atmosphere and perceived performance motivational climate, and to extend Stephens and Bredemeier (1986) and others that show team norms to be a significant predictor of self-described likelihood to aggress. The authors measure moral functioning by presenting four dilemmas to the college basketball players participating in the study. The participants respond on a Likert-type scale based on how likely they would be to injure, intimidate, fake an injury, and take out a slightly injured star (Gibbons et al., 1995). They measure moral atmosphere by the participants' perceptions, recorded in Likert Scale responses, of what their teammates and coaches would do in these situations.

The authors' first important result was a preliminary analysis of inter-team versus intra-team perception of the moral atmosphere. It is an early use of the team as the unit of analysis. The results showed that players from the same team tended to see the moral

atmosphere of their team in a similar way. The authors also found that there were significant differences between moral atmosphere coefficients across teams. This variability showed that even within the same collegiate sport, team moral atmospheres differ from one another. The authors conclude that moral atmosphere has a direct effect on the moral functioning components of moral judgment, moral intention, and moral action.

Kavussanu et al. (2002) support and expand the moral atmosphere and aggression literature by showing that components of the moral atmosphere have a significant effect on the moral functioning of team members. Their crucial expansion demonstrates an impact on a more well-rounded array of behaviors (rather than just self-reported likelihood to aggress), as well as on additional components of Rest's (1983, 1984) moral functioning (rather than just behavior). This expansion represents a move in the direction of Power et al. (1989) who looked to understand moral atmosphere in relation to all moral functioning, not simply one behavior. Kavussanu et al. (2002) also worked only within one sport and at the collegiate level. Both of these methodological strategies were influential for this investigation.

Like Kavussanu et al. (2002), Ommundsen et al. (2003) explored the relationship among the perceived motivational climate, sportspersonship, moral functioning, and team norms in young male Norwegian soccer players. The authors found that athletes who perceived a performance motivational climate had lower levels of moral functioning in terms of cheating, rule transgressions and aggression than those who perceived a mastery climate. Similarly, those athletes who perceived a performance climate had less mature moral functioning in these areas. While Ommundsen and colleagues (2003) did find a

significant relationship between perceived motivational climate and moral functioning where Kavussanu and colleagues (2003) did not, both studies found team norms (moral atmosphere) to be a significant predictor of self-reported moral functioning.

Miller et al. (2004) similarly examined the relationship of perceived motivational climate to moral functioning, moral atmosphere perceptions, and the legitimizing of injurious acts. In a sample of 705 Norwegian male and female soccer players, they found players who perceived a mastery climate as instituted by the coach showed more mature moral functioning. Furthermore, and most important for the present study, was their finding that a mastery climate was correlated with team moral atmospheres that were less likely to approve of cheating and injurious acts than the team moral atmospheres in which the coach instituted a performance climate.

Kavussanu and Spray (2006) studied the relationship between performance climate and athletes' moral functioning. Performance climate (Ames, 1992; Treasure, 2001) invites social comparison and focus on demonstration of ability, so the authors believe that it is reasonable to expect that team members will use any means to demonstrate high ability—including engaging in unsportsmanlike conduct. They hypothesized that a performance motivational climate would correspond to low levels of athletes' moral functioning. Kavussanu and Spray (2006) extend Kavussanu et al. (2002) with a different sample than the previous study: 12-17 years old British male football (soccer) players. The authors used the same methods to measure moral atmosphere and moral functioning as Kavussanu and colleagues (2002), and updated their measure of perceived motivational climate by using the PMCSQ-2 scale (Newton, Duda, & Yin, 2000).

Kavussanu and Spray (2006) found high intra-team consistency in athletes' perceptions of their team moral atmospheres. They also found that the moral atmosphere of the team had a strong effect on athlete's moral functioning, and that the relationship between moral atmosphere and moral functioning was the strongest relationship in the entire study. This supports previous work reviewed above in which moral atmosphere emerged as the best predictor of both moral functioning and aggression. It also supports Shields and Bredemeier's (1995) application of Rest's (1983, 1984) moral functioning model to sport and their claim that moral atmosphere influences moral functioning. The authors also invoke Power et al. (1989) to argue that given the crucial role of moral atmosphere, coaches should look at participatory democracy to help athletes feel that they have an important role in decision making and thereby influence on the moral functioning of the team.

Steinfeldt et al. (2011) also aimed to extend Kavussanu and colleagues (2002) by performing a quantitative study of masculinity, moral atmosphere and moral functioning in a sample of high school football players. The authors' key finding was that moral atmosphere (which they call the influence of teammates and coaches) was significantly associated with participants' process of on-field moral functioning across levels of judgment, intention, and behavior. This is similar to the findings of Kavussanu and colleagues (2002) and the trend of most of the sport moral atmosphere literature (Shields & Bredemeier, 2007). They found that neither masculine gender role conflict nor athletic identify significantly predicted moral functioning. Steinfeldt et al. (2011) suggest that football coaches should teach players to aggress appropriately and to play within the

ethos and rules of the game. Essentially, they want coaches to improve team moral atmospheres, but they do not describe how this ought to be done.

The body of literature on sport moral atmospheres, moral functioning, and perceived motivational climate clearly supports the notion that team norms influence moral functioning. Despite this support, this body of literature has limitations in examining sport moral atmosphere.

Moral atmosphere, moral functioning, and motivational climate literature limitations. The first limitation in the body of research summarized in the last section is that the dilemmas used to quantitatively assess moral functioning and moral atmosphere only measure critical junctures of the game. Furthermore, the dilemmas are hypothetical rather than actual dilemmas faced by the team. This research does not measure positive behaviors toward opponents, teammates, officials, or coaches. Additionally, the moral atmosphere measure derived from these dilemmas does not take into account institutional value (Power et al., 1989).

The research ultimately suggests the importance of shaping the team moral atmosphere in a positive fashion in order to improve the moral functioning of athletes, and that athletes' perception of coaches and teammates in the moral atmosphere is where change must be affected. Yet, the authors (e.g.: Kavussanu & Spray, 2006) are only able to encourage dilemma discussion and coaches modeling positive moral behavior in order to accomplish this goal because the studies do not examine the content of the norms, or the team member's understanding of them—the authors only cement the understanding that the norms significantly impact moral functioning.

Ultimately, the demonstrated connection between performance motivational climate, moral atmosphere, and moral functioning may be the beginning of an explanation of the content of the norms and how the sub-concept of institutional value (Power et al., 1989) functions in sport. This body of literature (e.g.: Kavussanu et al., 2002) begins the process of using the team as the unit of analysis. Still, an understanding of the complexity of sport moral atmosphere requires qualitative research.

Qualitative Research on Morality in Sport

Quantitative studies, like those reviewed in the previous section, form the bulk of the research on sport and moral atmosphere. This research conclusively shows that team moral atmosphere influences individual moral functioning and behavior. In order to explore both of the components moral atmosphere in sport—collective norms and institutional value (Power et al., 1989)—and to understand the complexity of moral atmosphere and moral culture in sport, qualitative research is needed. This type of research will add depth of explanation on norm content, levels of institutional value, and how moral atmospheres with these components are formed. While no qualitative studies have specifically explored the collective norms and institutional value of one particular team moral atmosphere, there do exist studies that have examined sport morality in different ways. A review this body of literature and its key findings follow. The chapter finishes with an explanation of how gaps that emerged from the reviewed bodies of literature may be filled by this investigation.

Descriptive qualitative studies of sport and morality. Early qualitative studies on sport and character (or values) were primarily descriptive in nature (Lee & Cockman, 1995; Cruz, Boixadós, Valiente, Capdevila, 1995). These researchers used semi-

structured interviews in which youth sport participants from soccer and tennis were asked to respond to hypothetical dilemmas in their sport. Rather than examine the data for moral reasoning, the authors of these studies were primarily interested in identifying participants' values in the sport domain based on the notion that these values lead to the athletes' behavior.

Stuart (2003) extended this early descriptive qualitative sport moral atmosphere literature. She interviewed fifteen youth sport participants ages 10–12 years old to better understand the children's perceptions of fairness of adult actions, negative game behaviors, and negative team behaviors. In giving children a voice to describe the problems they experienced in their team sport experiences, Stuart (2003) allows for the use of real, rather than hypothetical, dilemmas from the athletes' perspective. She suggests that future research continue to engage the child's perspective and use real dilemmas from their sporting experiences as the basis for interviews. Ultimately, she found that providing child athletes a voice offers insight into content of issues and context in which they occur.

A similar line of qualitative research examines athletes' perceptions of the character development and life skills they experienced through sport participation (Camire & Trudel, 2010; Holt, Tamminen, Tink, & Black, 2007; Jones & Lavallee, 2009). These researchers qualitatively examined how athletes perceived themselves to have learned life skills through involvement in regular competitive sport programs during their youth. Holt et al. (2007) interviewed 40 participants to obtain a life history of their sport involvement along with descriptions of how they may have learned life skills through their sport participation. Jones and Lavallee (2009) used five interviews and

multiple informal conversations with one female tennis athlete. Camire and Trudel (2010) interviewed twenty athletes across multiple sports. In these studies, the authors found that for their participants, sport itself did not teach life skills. The participants in each of the studies expressed learning life skills through interactions with peers in sport contexts, through parents using sport to reinforce values related to sportsmanship and work ethic, and through coaches emphasizing hard work and teamwork. Overall, these findings reinforce that sport can provide an educational context for acquiring life skills, but that interactions with key social agents are crucial components of how people learn life skills through involvement in sport. Specifically, peer interactions appeared to be most meaningful aspects of youth sport participation.

While these more descriptive qualitative studies are effective in using qualitative data to describe, in detail, issues faced or life skills learned through sport participation, their coding and analysis leaves space for more in-depth qualitative work. Ultimately their identification of values or problems sets the stage for studies that explore how these values are formed and acted upon in sporting contexts. Lee and Cockman (1995) conclude:

> If it can be demonstrated consistently that the values identified in this study represent the principles by which young athletes organize their experience of sport and judge their satisfaction from it then it will be important to investigate the ways in which they develop their values. (p. 348)

As more qualitative studies emerged, the depth of understanding of moral reasoning and functioning in sport increased.

Qualitative studies of moral reasoning and moral functioning. Tod and Hodge (2001) qualitatively explored the relationship between moral reasoning and achievement motivation in order to present a qualitative study that complements previous research on moral reasoning and achievement goal orientation. They note that a qualitative study may be able to describe the context within which achievement goal orientations and moral reasoning interact. Based on interviews of eight male, under-21-year-old rugby union players selected through purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990), Tod and Hodge (2001) found that an achievement goal orientation profile appeared to influence the level of moral reasoning used in moral rugby moral dilemmas. Ego oriented athletes showed less mature levels of moral reasoning and were influenced by self-centeredness and a win-at-all-costs attitude. A combination of task and ego orientations tended to show more mature levels of moral reasoning. In all eight participants, moral reasoning was influenced by situational variables such as coaches and team leaders. This supports previous quantitative research presented above, despite the differences in methods.

While Tod and Hodge (2001) added depth to the quantitative research on moral reasoning and achievement motivation, Long, Pantaleon, Bruant, and d'Arripe-Longueville (2006) added to the understanding of moral atmosphere and moral functioning through qualitative research. They explored young elite athletes' perceptions of rules compliance and transgression in competitive settings and the underlying reasons for these actions. The authors conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 elite young athletes in the medium to high contact sports of soccer, rugby and judo, and used moral atmosphere as one of their higher order themes.

Long and colleagues (Long et al., 2006) found that the underlying reasons for rules compliance were the desire to win and thus avoid disadvantages, and the team's moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989), which included pressure from coaches and team norms. Beliefs in sports values and virtues, purity, effort ethic, and character development were other reasons for rules compliance. The authors also found that underlying reasons for rules transgression included the desire to win and team moral atmosphere. The end of winning often justified rules violation, and the pressure of a coach to cheat in order to achieve victory decreases athletes' personal responsibility. Furthermore, athletes of the study accepted transgressive behaviors and were likely to behave in ways that are against the rules but which are common practice in a given sport. The authors found that team norms appeared to be deeply internalized and to have strong influence on athletes' decision making related to aggression, cheating, and unsportsmanlike acts. Long and colleagues (Long et al., 2006) cite Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) and argue that their findings parallel the original moral atmosphere findings on the influence of group norms. The authors' primary suggestion is for coaches to first attempt to create a positive moral environment for their athletes by eliminating a win-at-all-costs environment, and by trying to be moral mentors who stimulate prosocial behavior. Qualitative research on moral atmosphere and moral functioning (e.g.: Long et al., 2006) allows for deeper understanding of how collective norms form and function. They show that the moral atmosphere (team norms) leads to both unsportsmanlike and sportsmanlike behaviors. Therefore, the content of the team norms becomes increasingly important if sport is to become a character-building endeavor.

Advances and limitations of qualitative sport morality research. Qualitative research on sport and moral variables adds considerable depth to the quantitative literature that shows team norms to be significantly influential on moral functioning and behavior. Tod and Hodge (2001) deal with one sport and one level and players from one team, and their study is rooted in moral development theory. Long and colleagues (Long et al., 2006) expand on and validate previous quantitative work on the importance of team norms. This research allows for an in-depth look at reasoning behind behaviors, an inherent strength of qualitative research, and illustrates that reasoning behind prosocial behavior is not always moral and that there can be some moral reasoning behind what can be considered antisocial behavior. Still, the authors do not focus centrally on team norms or moral atmosphere. Long and colleagues (2006) do not look at the team as a unit of analysis, but rather at individuals across three different sports. This brings into consideration the moral cultures and moral atmospheres from these different sports. Ultimately, the study usefully probes at reasoning behind behaviors, but offers no discussion on how the norms in the moral atmosphere are formed, except when discussing coaches pressuring athletes to win.

Before moral education by improving sport moral atmospheres can become a reality, qualitative research on one team that attempts to create and employ a high functioning moral atmosphere for the sake of morally educating its team members should be done in order to fill the gaps that exist in the quantitative and qualitative literature reviewed above. The following section presents a description of these gaps and the ways this investigation may fill them.

Significance of Study and Point of Departure

The literature reviewed above leads to key theoretical and methodological gaps in the study of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) in sport. There is a clear need for more qualitative inquiry on sport morality in order to understand the positions, justifications, and reasoning that underlie behavior in sport (Romand & Pantaleon, 2007; Shields & Bredemeier, 2007; Tod & Hodge, 2001). Additionally, the literature on sport moral atmosphere lacks studies that address the concept of moral atmosphere as Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) conceptualized and assessed it—simultaneous inclusion and examination of both collective norms and institutional value. Also missing from the literature are studies that examine how team members understand collective team norms and institutionally value their team within a moral atmosphere. Finally, there are no sport moral atmosphere studies that focus on the moral atmosphere of one program in one sport, at one level, in one sport culture, and that use the team as the unit of analysis. Ultimately, Power et al. (1989) created moral atmosphere to examine the characteristics of group morality in classroom communities—communities that were attempting to engage in moral education—through the concepts of institutional value and collective norms. They did not, however, examine athletic teams as a part of their work. Researchers in sport morality have drawn on the moral atmosphere to explore sport morality, but there are no researchers to date who have qualitatively examined the moral atmosphere of a specific team and culture attempting to create a moral community.

The main purpose of the present study was to fill the gaps in the literature described above by providing a qualitative moral atmosphere study that advances the understanding of moral atmosphere, as conceived by Power et al. (1989), in sport. A potential long-term implication of the study may be that this deepened understanding of

one sport moral atmosphere assists teams and coaches in learning how to develop and incorporate high-functioning moral atmospheres so that sport can better fulfill its potential as a context for moral education. This long-term goal may not be met, however, without a deeper understanding of the concept of moral atmosphere in a team community. Therefore the primary purpose of the present investigation was to examine the moral atmosphere of one team, through its former members' institutional valuing of the team, and their understanding of the team's collective norms.

Research Questions

The aforementioned gaps in the literature lead to one main research question, and a set of sub-questions, for the present study. The research questions were based on the definition of moral atmosphere. The moral atmosphere will be generally defined as the team's institutional value and collective norms (Power et al., 1989).

1. How is the team moral atmosphere understood, retrospectively, by former team members?
    a. How do the members of the team institutionally value (Power et al., 1989) the program?
    b. How do team members understand the collective team norms (Power et al., 1989), as a result of their team membership?

The next chapter will describe the method of the study, the rationale for this method, and the way in which these decisions stemmed from the theoretical framework of Power et al. (1989) on moral education and moral atmosphere.

CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY

The gaps in the literature described in the previous chapter led to a qualitative case study as the appropriate method for conducting the present project on sport moral atmosphere. In this chapter the epistemology from which the present study of moral atmosphere stems, the instrumental case study method, and the rationale for using this method to study the sport moral atmosphere of one program are described. Next, the particular team moral atmosphere that was studied is described. Then the rationale for choosing this program as the best possible instrumental case based on purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007) and Kohlberg's (Power et al., 1989) definition of moral atmosphere is outlined. I then reflect on my own researcher positionality before describing the instrument, the peer nomination selection process for identifying team members to interview, and the data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, key ethical concerns that accompanied conducting the project, and strategies employed to increase the project's validity and trustworthiness are articulated.

Epistemology

Constructivism. I approached the present moral atmosphere study with a constructivist epistemology. Constructivists hold that humans create knowledge through social interactions with the processes of language, history, and action. From this perspective, truth and knowledge are not discovered, but are actively constructed (Creswell, 2003; Grey, 2004; Schwandt, 1994). My epistemological commitments are rooted in constructivism. The same is true of Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989). Moral atmosphere involves forming and acting on collective group norms and the

ways in which individual group members institutionally value a particular community. These are both social processes through which people create and interpret meaning and knowledge in and through the world around them. Qualitative research, specifically the case study, was a fitting methodological choice given a constructivist epistemology and the influence of constructivism on the socially derived concept of moral atmosphere (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Qualitative Case Study

Given the gaps in the sport morality literature, the research questions to which they led, and the constructivist epistemology in which the present study is rooted, the case study (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Stake, 1994, 2003; Yin, 2009) emerged as an appropriate methodological choice for this project. Creswell (2003, 2007) argues that the case study is useful for pursuing open ended questions that begin with "how" or "what." For Yin (2009), the case study is an appropriate methodological choice when the project deals with a group as the unit of analysis. Stake (2003) writes: "Qualitative case study is characterized by researchers spending extended time, on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting, revising meanings of what is going on" (p. 150). Finally, case studies are particularly useful when a theory—in this case moral education through moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989), is being studied in depth in a particular context (Yin, 2009).

Yin (2009) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Rather than conduct a study that aimed to confirm team norms as a significant predictor of the moral

behavior of athletes, this qualitative case study was used to delve deeper into the concept of the moral atmosphere in sport by examining it through the case of one college sport team. Based on the gaps in the literature described in Chapter Two and the advantages of the case study method (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Stake, 1994, 2003; Yin, 2009), it became clear that the best way to deepen the understanding of how sport moral atmospheres promote moral development in individual group members and transform the moral culture of the group through institutional value and collective norms was to do a case study of a particular sport moral atmosphere.

Single instrumental case study. Case studies can involve a single case, or multiple cases (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1994, 2003; Yin, 2009). Selecting multiple cases for comparative purposes is a tactic often used in case study research. This produces replication as different cases are used to explore a phenomenon, and to predict similar or opposite results (Yin, 2009). With the concept of sport moral atmosphere, however, case studies of a single team that might suggest a method for studying the sport moral atmosphere in one program based on Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) theory of moral atmosphere, do not currently exist. Yin (2009) describes such a scenario as justification for selecting a single case study design. Furthermore, Stake advocates a single case design over a multiple case design when other similar case studies do not exist in order to avoid missing the nuances of the case in an attempt to compare it to others. He writes: "With concentration on the bases for comparison, uniquenesses and complexities will be glossed over. A research design featuring comparison substitutes (a) *the comparison* for (b) *the case* as the focus of the study" (Stake, 2003, p. 149).

When a single case study is employed to provide insight to a theory or phenomenon, Stake (1994) describes that single case study as "instrumental." Instrumental cases studies position the case as being secondary in importance to the external issue, in the present project, moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) in sport. Yet the case is still examined closely in order to pursue deeper understanding of the external interest. The present project was consequently an instrumental case study as the case facilitated the study of moral atmosphere and was purposefully chosen because of its ability to further the understanding of the concept of moral atmosphere through one specific moral atmosphere that cannot be separated from the culture of the team. Therefore, the purpose of this single, instrumental case study (Stake, 1994, 2003; Creswell, 2003, 2007; Yin, 2009) was to describe and understand the moral atmosphere of one team. The moral atmosphere was generally defined as the team's institutional value and collective team norms (Power et al., 1989).

Sample

Case choice as critical. Creswell (2007) writes: "The concept of purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research. This means that the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (p. 125). This investigation employed purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990) in selecting the program for this instrumental case study of sport moral atmosphere.

The two main goals of moral education for Kohlberg and colleagues are to improve the moral functioning of the individual and to transform the group into a moral community (Power et al., 1989). Moral atmosphere is a key mechanism through which

this process occurs, therefore carefully and purposefully choosing a case (program) whereby moral development goals are primary and explicit was necessary. It was imperative to choose a case in which a sport moral atmosphere had been developed and experienced.

Two rationales, in particular, helped justify the selection of a certain program as an appropriate, purposeful sample (Creswell, 2007) of a single, instrumental case (Stake, 1994) in the present research design. First, the case must be a critical case in testing the well-documented theory of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989). Second, the case must be a unique case (Stake, 1994, 2003; Yin, 2009). The men's tennis program at Gustavus Adolphus College (Gustavus) under head coach Steve Wilkinson was a unique case of moral atmosphere in sport because it prioritized the moral education of its members, and implemented techniques to work toward this development over 39 years (Wilkinson, 2014). The next section describes the Gustavus men's tennis program and its moral atmosphere to position it as a specific and highly appropriate case site for the present moral atmosphere study.

Purposeful case selection: Gustavus men's tennis under Steve Wilkinson. The Gustavus men's tennis program was a purposeful sample (Creswell, 2007) and provided an appropriate context for this instrumental case study and accompanying research questions. The decision to study Gustavus Men's Tennis was based, first and foremost, on Kohlberg's theory of moral education (Power et al., 1989). This theory and surrounding literature led to the research questions for the study. This same theory was the basis for the identifying the existence of a unique and potentially illuminating moral atmosphere in Gustavus Men's Tennis—a program for which there was significant

evidence to suggest the existence of a moral atmosphere, but a program whose institutional value and collective norms have not been examined through scholarly research.

The Gustavus Adolphus College men's tennis program is a National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division III intercollegiate varsity tennis program at the private, Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) affiliated, liberal arts college in St. Peter, Minnesota. Gustavus is a member of the Minnesota Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (MIAC). The men's tennis team is one of 23 intercollegiate varsity sports programs at the college. Under the direction of Dr. Steve Wilkinson (head coach 1970–2009) (hereafter referred to as "Coach Wilkinson") the Gustavus men's tennis program became one of the most successful NCAA Division III men's tennis programs in the nation in terms of competitive results. The program has produced over 40 All-Americans, four national singles champions, and six national doubles champions, in addition to winning the 1980 and 1982 NCAA team championships and four Intercollegiate Tennis Association (ITA) national indoor team championships. The program has also produced multiple NCAA post-graduate scholars, Academic All-Americans, and Arthur Ashe Award winners (an award given at the conference, regional, and national levels to one person who demonstrates outstanding tennis accomplishment, sportsmanship, leadership, and humanitarian concern). As I expand upon below in the section on researcher positionality, I was a student-athlete and team captain in the program from 1998–2002. I served as Coach Wilkinson's assistant coach from 2006–09, and in fall of 2009 I was named head coach of the program. I am currently in my sixth season in that position.

The primary justification for purposefully selecting Gustavus Men's Tennis as the case site for this moral atmosphere study was Coach Wilkinson's prioritization of moral education through the Gustavus program. During his 39-year tenure as Gustavus' head coach, Wilkinson became the winningest coach in the history of collegiate tennis at any competitive level. Even though he was extremely successful in terms of his competitive record, Coach Wilkinson has become nationally known as much for his philosophy of sportsmanship and character development through tennis as he has for his winning record.

While both Coach Wilkinson and I can describe the system of moral education that he attempted to implement through the Gustavus men's tennis program, there existed more objective evidence behind selecting Gustavus Tennis as the site for the present study. Coach Wilkinson's accolades, correspondences, and own writings (described below) demonstrated that moral education was a primary goal and had taken place in Gustavus Tennis during his time as coach. He attempted to create a moral atmosphere (without explicitly using the term) whereby the team functioned as a moral community, and whereby individual moral growth occurred and was highly valued. Yet the moral education Wilkinson attempted to provide has not been examined in the moral atmosphere terms of collective norms and institutional value (Power et al.,1989).

Gustavus tennis sportsmanship accolades. The sportsmanship accomplishments of Wilkinson's players have been unparalleled in college tennis. The ITA created the Arthur Ashe Award in the early 1980s, with Wilkinson on the national executive committee, in order emphasize sportsmanship and community service in college tennis. Since that time, Wilkinson coached five winners of the Ashe award at the national

level—no other school has more than two national awardees. Wilkinson also coached nine winners of the Ashe award at the regional and conference levels. In addition to his players' sportsmanship awards, Wilkinson's coaching colleagues, parents of his athletes, opposing parents and players, and national tennis organizations have regarded him as a leader in prioritizing sportsmanship above winning, and in teaching values to his players. Coach Wilkinson also taught sportsmanship to thousands of campers in his nationally regarded Tennis and Life Camps.

Recognition and appreciation from opposing coaches and players. After Wilkinson's retirement from coaching, the MIAC coaches voted to name the MIAC men's tennis coach of the year award after Coach Wilkinson in honor of his commitment to tennis excellence, service to the sport, and sportsmanship. During the later stages of his career, opposing coaches and athletes often corresponded with Coach Wilkinson to express appreciation for having shared competitions and experiences with him, and to provide support following his cancer diagnosis. Coach Wilkinson granted me access to these personal communications, which are artifacts of the case. One MIAC coaching colleague wrote to Wilkinson prior to Wilkinson's retirement:

> Although I do not pretend to have achieved a fraction of your success as a coach, I have always thought of you and your program as role models to be emulated. You always set the bar high for the conference (and all of Division 3!) in terms of competitiveness and sportsmanship, and you have helped us all to improve our tennis programs. Your "big picture" approach of what sports can do to shape the lives of our student-athletes is a refreshing counterbalance to the "win at all cost" philosophy that sadly pervades our society. We only talk a few times a year at our

> matches, but being able to call you a colleague is one of the reasons I have hung around coaching for so long. (S. Zweifel, personal communication, 2009)

Wilkinson's influence as an ambassador for sportsmanship, often communicated through his players and teams, reached beyond the conference in which he coached for 39 years. A colleague who coached against Wilkinson for more than two decades in the ITA's Central Region also expressed his appreciation of Wilkinson's combination of winning and sportsmanship:

> On a more personal note, I also wanted to let you know how much I appreciate the way you have handled your team and the individuals on it over the years. You have been a great role model for many young coaches. You have a fabulous program at Gustavus, and I know that has happened only because of the time and effort that you have put into it. It is hard work; but I am sure that your players know and appreciate it. I always enjoyed competing against your teams because I knew that they would be well-prepared and represent themselves and their school with the very best tennis and sportsmanship. (R. Leake, personal communication, 2003)

In addition to opposing coaches, opposing players also noted and appreciated Wilkinson's prioritization of sportsmanship and the moral education of his players. Upon learning that Coach Wilkinson was facing a battle with kidney cancer, a player whose teams competed against Gustavus at the NCAA national team championships wrote to Wilkinson to express gratitude for his approach:

> I truly believe that there is not one life lesson that can't be learned from the ebbs and flows of competition...if one has the right attitude. I always enjoyed the Ephs

> matchups with the Gusties because I felt your team exemplified the very best of college tennis. It is one thing to be a fierce competitor...the world has many of those. It is a completely different thing to compose oneself with grace, dignity, and mutual respect for one's opponent and still keep the competitive fire that consistently brought our teams to battle on the national stage. I can only attribute the qualities of your team and players to their coach. Gustavus may attract great athletes and great players, but I believe it is the coach that can make them great people. That is a lesson many coaches, unfortunately, have not learned as their focus is completely on winning. You and I both know that winning is nice, but the real match is not about winning or losing. The real match is about discovering ourselves and becoming better people and using competition (and the guidance of coaches and mentors) as a vehicle for that growth. (L. Urban, personal communication, March, 2009)

This former opponent recognized, through competing against Wilkinson's Gustavus teams, that Wilkinson was able to use tennis as a vehicle for moral growth and teaching respect.

Recognition from and service to national and international tennis organizations. In 2010, the International Tennis Hall of Fame recognized Wilkinson for using tennis to contribute to the personal development of his players and students throughout his coaching career as it honored Wilkinson with its Tennis Educational Merit Award. The award is given annually to one or two United States citizens who have made notable contributions in the tennis education field at the national level. Past winners of the prestigious award include former top-ranked touring professionals who broke racial

barriers in professional tennis such as Zina Garrison Jackson, and Arthur Ashe, and sports psychologists who have made a major impact on tennis at all levels, like Dr. Jim Loehr and Dr. Allen Fox. In 2010 Wilkinson was also inducted into the ITA's Hall of Fame as one of the top coaches in the history of collegiate tennis. In September of 2013, Coach Wilkinson became one of only sixteen members ever to be inducted into the United States Professional Tennis Association's (USPTA) Hall of Fame. He was inducted alongside tennis teaching legends Nic Bollettieri and Vic Braden in part because of his unique approach to teaching tennis excellence and developing character through tennis. In the press release for the induction, the USPTA describes Wilkinson as having "…dedicated his time and effort to improving tennis performance of youth and adults while teaching life lessons that can be used off the court" (USPTA, 2013). This recognition provides further evidence to the existence of a moral curriculum Coach Wilkinson used while teaching and coaching tennis.

In addition to praise from opposing players and coaches, and to earning prestigious awards and selections to halls of fame for teaching values and sportsmanship through tennis, Coach Wilkinson has served on all of the major governing committees for collegiate tennis (see Appendix A), and was often called upon by coaching colleagues to help solve moral dilemmas. For example, in 2008 the NCAA committee for Division III tennis asked Wilkinson to develop a plan to combat the practice of "stacking" (playing a team's players out of order of strength in hopes of creating enough individual mismatches to win a team match). Wilkinson immediately went to work researching the problem and possible solutions. He devised a system designed to base lineup position solely on winning percentage against outside competition. The ITA and NCAA ultimately did not

cement his plan into their respective rulebooks, but many coaches have adopted it as a guideline for determining their own lineups and for evaluating those of other teams. The details of Wilkinson's lineup guidelines are outside the scope of the present chapter. The key point is that Wilkinson was considered to be a moral authority among coaches, and was called upon by his colleagues to help college tennis address an ethical problem that emerged and threatened the integrity of the sport.

Coach Wilkinson's writings on sportsmanship and philosophy of personal development through tennis. Finally, Coach Wilkinson's own professional writing (Wilkinson, 1984, 1989, 2014) served as further evidence to his commitment to moral education through the sport of tennis, and as justification for choosing Gustavus as the site for the present study. During his coaching career, two of the most prominent United States national tennis organizations commissioned Wilkinson, also a college professor of ethics and world religions, to write chapters in their instruction manuals. Wilkinson authored a chapter on how to teach sportsmanship in the Intercollegiate Tennis Coaches Association's (now known as the Intercollegiate Tennis Association, or ITA) book on coaching (Wilkinson, 1989). Wilkinson also wrote a chapter on mental training for the USPTA's guide for tennis teaching professionals (Wilkinson, 1984). The chapter includes sections on self-confidence, competitive attitude development, role modeling, concentration and relaxation techniques, self-talk, visualization, goal setting, and daily mental training routines. Yet the key point of Wilkinson's mental training program is that mental training in tennis is a means to developing the whole self, not just to help win matches. He advocates treating others with respect, and for coaches to cultivate players who are honest, just, and kind to opponents while still striving to win. He offers the

following advice to coaches looking to develop mental skills in their players: “Finally, skilled mental players like themselves and what they have accomplished, but never belittle others to achieve the feeling of self-worth. Instead, they know that through elevating others, both they and the others are uplifted” (Wilkinson, 1984, p. 41–42).

Wilkinson (2014) has continued writing after retiring from collegiate teaching and coaching. His primary work has been his memoir entitled *Let Love Serve.* It consists of short chapters that describe key principles of his coaching and teaching philosophy. Much of this writing describes his mission of morally educating his athletes through tennis, in addition to developing them as excellent tennis players. In the memoir, he often illumines his philosophy with stories from his experiences coaching Gustavus players.

In a chapter describing his approach to teaching sportsmanship to collegiate players, Wilkinson (2014) lays out five key behaviors and the reasons for them during matches that do not have chair umpires. They include: no challenging of opponents’ line calls in any way; no criticizing opposing coaches or making of recommendations to opposing coaches to discipline their players; calling lines fairly and giving opponents the benefit of the doubt on their line calls; setting rules of sportsmanship for your own team and following them; and congratulating opposing players and coaches with handshakes, eye contact, and specific praise (Wilkinson, 2014).

In his chapter on making and following team rules for sportsmanship, Wilkinson (2014) tells of an incident that one of his national doubles championship teams, Shaun Miller and Jim Hearn, faced when competing against a Division I opponent early in their championship season. With a one-set lead, Hearn and Miller had frustrated their opponents who were increasingly displaying poor behavior based on their belief that they

should not be losing to a Division III team. This behavior would have been penalized if an official were stationed on every court. Late in the second set Hearn became frustrated with his own play. Wilkinson speculates that the un-penalized behavior of his opponents influenced the tone of the match and Hearn, who threw his racquet in frustration. Gustavus had a team rule that racquet throwing in matches resulted in default. Wilkinson followed through with the rule and defaulted his top doubles team, although their opponents had behaved worse than they, costing them and their teammates a potential victory against a Division I team. Wilkinson reflects that the decision was difficult to make given the circumstances, but that it helped teach Hearn and Miller, and the rest of their teammates, that sportsmanship and the team rule would not be compromised in the name of winning. Wilkinson never had to penalize Hearn and Miller again. The duo went on to win the NCAA national doubles championship later that year.

Other chapters from Wilkinson's (2014) memoir include his description of the Three Crowns of Gustavus Tennis—full effort, a positive attitude, and the highest standard of sportsmanship; descriptions of closely contested Gustavus wins and losses at national championship events to describe the thin nature of the line between winning and losing and how treating others with respect is paramount in both situations; and a description of what Coach Wilkinson calls the six pillars of Gustavus Tennis. Here Wilkinson describes how parents, players, opponents, alumni, assistant coaches, and his wife, Barbara, all contributed to the unity and team-first mentality of the program that produced positive experiences for so many in the Gustavus men's tennis program. Wilkinson (2014) describes other aspects of his coaching philosophy in many other chapters in his memoir, including moral education methods, through stories about

individual members of the program. These writings distinguish Wilkinson and his program from other college tennis programs by demonstrating his commitment to moral education.

The unique combination of Coach Wilkinson's accolades, the sportsmanship accomplishments of his players, his relationships with opposing players and coaches, and his long-standing commitment to sportsmanship and moral development in his own writings (Wilkinson, 1984, 1989, 2014) and coaching of the Gustavus men's tennis team made the team's moral atmosphere a unique and informative purposeful sample (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990) for the present project. Research on sport moral atmosphere in relation to cheating and aggression (e.g., Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Steinfeldt, Rutkowski, Vaughan, & Steinfeldt, 2011; Stephens, 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens et al., 1997; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996; Stephens & Kavanagh, 2003, 2007) and in relation to motivational climate and moral functioning (Kavussanu et al., 2002; Kavussanu & Spray, 2006; Miller et al., 2004; Ommundsen et al., 2003; Steinfeldt et al., 2011) suggests that the coach plays a crucial role in forming the moral atmosphere of a team. It is unlikely that a moral atmosphere can exist without a coach who is committed to promoting a mastery motivational climate and an approach to competition that prioritizes moral functioning and moral behavior (Shields & Bredemeier, 2007). Coach Wilkinson's accolades, writings, relationships with opposing players and coaches, and the sportsmanship accomplishments of his players suggest the existence of moral atmosphere in his program. While Coach Wilkinson did not use the term "moral atmosphere" in his writing or teaching, Gustavus Tennis under Coach Wilkinson's direction was a community that intentionally pursued moral education and was therefore

an ideal team for a sport moral atmosphere study (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008; Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

Researcher's role. It is important to be transparent and address my role as researcher for the present project and case selection. I am in the unique position of being the lead researcher and key member of the case. As the current head coach of Gustavus Tennis and the primary researcher for the project, I have a unique perspective on and responsibility for the community's moral atmosphere. The following sections describe my involvement in Gustavus Tennis and its moral atmosphere as well as research that has been done on moral communities and/or sport programs by members of those particular programs in order to be transparent about my positionality, and to further justify choosing Gustavus Tennis during Coach Wilkinson's head coaching tenure as an ideal case to examine in the present project.

Insider positionality of the coach-researcher. By discussing my involvement in Gustavus Tennis and with Coach Wilkinson, I intend to be open and honest about my positionality as a means of legitimizing a study that produced engaged research and writing. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) argue:

> Writing for and about the community in which one has grown up and lived, or at least achieved some degree of insider status, should produce engaged writing centering on the ongoing dialectical political-personal relationship between self and other. This is not a new idea. (p. 184)

I first met Coach Wilkinson in the summer of 1995 when I attended his Tennis and Life Camps at the recommendation of my high school coach, who had also played at Gustavus for Coach Wilkinson. I attended the camp for four summers, and then chose to

attend Gustavus in the fall of 1998 in order to pursue my college education and to become a member of the varsity tennis program under Coach Wilkinson. From 1998–2002 I was a member of what we, on the inside, call the Gustavus Tennis Family. During my last three years in the program, our teams finished 2nd, 4th, and 3rd in the nation. In 2002 we won the ITA National Indoor Team Championship. I was an all-conference performer and two-time Academic All-American. In my junior season, I won the Arthur Ashe Award from the MIAC and the ITA's Central Region for my accomplishments in tennis, leadership, scholarship, and community service. More importantly, though, I was able to spend four years learning from Coach Wilkinson in practice, matches, on the road, during summer camp, and in class.[1]

As a leader of my Gustavus team and an eventual team captain, I learned the core and many nuances of Coach Wilkinson's philosophy on life and competition—both of which stem from the Serenity Prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference" (Wilkinson, 2014). Wilkinson taught a deep and committed focus on the things that are within one's control, and letting go of what is not. Building relationships, serving others, and developing trust with one's self, teammates, and opponents were also key aspects of the program's culture.

From a competitive perspective, winning and losing, and playing well or poorly, are outside of one's control. On the other hand, giving full effort, making the choice to have a positive attitude, and competing with the highest standard of sportsmanship are

[1] Coach Wilkinson led a sport ethics travel course to Australia and New Zealand that many Gustavus tennis players chose to take. I was a student in the course in 2000. In 2010, I taught the course with him, and led it on my own in 2012.)

within one's control. These three choices that are entirely within the control of the team and the individual came to be known as the "Three Crowns." While Coach Wilkinson had seemingly always taught this philosophy, it did not have its name until the spring of 2001 when I suggested the name during a team meeting. The Three Crowns have become the hallmark of Gustavus Tennis, and the philosophy under which we players developed and cultivated relationships with each other and our program.

Upon completion of my playing career at Gustavus, I began my coaching career at the University of Nebraska, where I spent two years as the assistant women's tennis coach. I then pursued my master's degree in theological studies at Emory University while serving as the assistant women's tennis coach on two NCAA team championship teams there. In 2006, I returned to Minnesota to pursue my doctorate at the University of Minnesota's School of Kinesiology. I also returned to the Gustavus men's tennis program, serving as Coach Wilkinson's assistant coach from 2006 to 2009.

In the fall of 2009, I was named the men's head tennis coach at Gustavus following Coach Wilkinson's retirement. He retired, in part, because of his progressing kidney cancer, and, in part, because I was willing to take over the program. For the past five years Coach Wilkinson has served as my volunteer assistant coach helping in any way I have asked him. My main request to him has been to spend as much time as he could with current team members so that as many of our players as possible could experience being coached by him.

Through my experiences with Coach Wilkinson and the Gustavus Tennis program, I have also learned Coach Wilkinson's approach to moral education. Although he has not often used the term "moral education," most members of the program

anecdotally believe that he has accomplished the two-pronged goal of moral education as stated by Kohlberg and colleagues: (a) fostering the moral development of individual members, and (b) transforming the group into a moral community (Power et al., 1989). As the current head coach and leader of the program I strive to continue to provide this moral education to our team culture and individual players.

My roles as former player, former assistant coach, current head coach, and lead researcher formed a unique positionality for this study. Certainly I could have chosen to pursue a case and context that would have allowed me to conduct the study from a less biased perspective. Yet, given the gaps in the literature on sport moral atmosphere, the unique nature of the Gustavus men's tennis program as a moral community, and Coach Wilkinson's development of it for close to 40 years, it became clear that I would be passing up the best opportunity to pursue the research question and sub-questions of the study in order to avoid studying our own program and attempt to limit bias. Gustavus tennis provided easy access and is a context with which I am extremely familiar, but foremost, it was an ideal purposeful sample (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990) for the present study of sport moral atmosphere because it was a community in which moral education was deliberately pursued for both the group and its individual members (Power & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2008; Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

Precedent for insider research. In one respect, my unique positionality as lead researcher and head coach, who has experienced and now delivers the moral curriculum from a position of power, is unprecedented in the sport moral literature, and in other areas of research as well. However, I aimed to minimize this bias and justified conducting the project despite this positionality because of the uniqueness of the Gustavus men's tennis

program, the measures I took to be up front and honest about the bias at every stage of the research, and the theory-driven nature of the project. While my insider positionality cannot be eliminated in its entirety, there does exist some precedent for a researcher studying his educational community from the inside (Holt & Sparkes, 2001; Power et al., 1989; Wacquant, 2004). Yet, it is well known that all research is biased by the researcher in some way (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Janesick, 1995).

Kohlberg, upon whose theory of moral education the present project was based (Power et al., 1989), was not a complete outsider in his studying of just community schooling in the Cluster School. He was a consultant in the development of the school. In making participatory democracy the life of the school, he agreed to leave the decision to conduct research on the Cluster School up to a vote of the teachers and students. The vote passed, and Kohlberg and colleagues did conduct research on the just community approach that they helped to implement into the school. Kohlberg's knowledge of the school and his consulting role were clearly a part of his positionality. This positionality allowed him to better understand and study what took place at the Cluster School. Kohlberg was invested in the success of the school and, more specifically, that the just community approach would take hold and shape the school community. Despite (and because of) this vested interest, he was better able to assess the moral atmosphere of the school and further the literature on moral education (Power et al., 1989).

In sport literature, Holt and Sparkes (2001) performed an ethnographic case study of cohesiveness in a college soccer team over the course of a season. They did not study morality or moral education, but they did examine one team, in one sport, with the team as the unit of analysis. Holt, the lead researcher, joined the soccer club and was

eventually promoted to its first team, the portion that served as the context for the study. Because of his soccer expertise, the team asked Holt to serve as a coach during training sessions. Holt agreed, and at that point described his research problem and data collection methods to the team members. He gained the agreement of all team members before proceeding with his research from the positionality of researcher, first team player, and coaching assistant.

Holt describes the important benefits that his insider positionality offered to his study (Holt & Sparkes, 2001). He notes that his positionality allowed him to be present at all team activities, both on and off the field, over the course of the season. This in-depth immersion allowed him to produce extensive field notes and a reflexive journal. This data then led to a series of formal and semi-formal interviews with team members. Ultimately, the authors argue that Holt's role as a team member and coach allowed him to develop trust and rapport with team members that produced greater disclosure and rich data for the study.

Loïc Wacquant (2004) provides evidence to the quality, validity, richness, and usefulness that can emerge from a "backyard" qualitative study in which one studies his own community (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Wacquant originally set out to study race in the ghetto of urban Chicago. He ended up finding his way into a boxing gym—the Woodlawn Boys Club. He took up the sport of boxing on the spot, and over a 4-year period of time became so deeply immersed in Woodlawn's "pugilistic habitus" that he considered leaving his sociology career at the University of Chicago in order to box full time. Wacquant (2004) notes that the opportunity to become a member of the gym was the key factor in making his research possible:

> It was not until after sixteen months of assiduous attendance, and after I had been inducted as a bona fide member of the inner circle of the Boys Club, that I decided, with the approval of those concerned, to make the craft of the boxer an object of study in its own right. (p. 9)

Critics could legitimately argue that Wacquant's positionality robs him of his ability to objectively study and describe Woodlawn's people, physical place, collective norms and beliefs, and the ways in which the pugilistic habitus intersects with the boxers' other ways of being in the world. Others see Wacquant's embodiment of the habitus he studies as beneficial. Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) write: "He goes to great lengths to demonstrate both that he was reflexive about his position as a researcher and that he was able to overcome this position—through rigorous apprenticeship—to gain acceptance from other boxers" (p. 36). Wacquant was deeply immersed in the case he lived and researched. Wacquant's (2004) study serves as an exemplar for the present project on moral atmosphere. He expands the understanding of a concept, habitus, in his work by studying a particular case of that concept. I engaged in a similar process in the present case study on the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Men's Tennis. Wacquant used his positionality as tool to provide both access and insight to the case. He was a part of the gym's organic structure, and embodied what it means to be a part of it in a way that a researcher from the outside could never possibly understand.

Through careful and responsible research tactics, Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989), Holt and Sparkes (2001), and Wacquant (2004) were able to combine their immersion in their respective communities with their abilities as researchers to present a richness of description and depth of detail that could not be possible in any other way. My goal for

the present dissertation study was to use my positionality within the Gustavus men's tennis program to accomplish the same level of description while being open about my involvement in the program, and taking measures to limit the drawbacks that could potentially stem from my dual roles of head coach and lead researcher. These steps are detailed below in the section on validity and ethical concerns. First, however, the selection of encultured participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) to describe the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere is described.

Study participants to describe the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere. This dissertation study was qualitative, thereby allowing for rich description from participants to deepen the body of knowledge on how, exactly, collective team norms and institutional value (Power et al., 1989) impact the moral behavior of team members. The Gustavus Tennis sample allowed for the study of one program that has, for decades, attempted to create a moral community that morally educates its group members in and through the sporting context. In addition to Coach Wilkinson's (1984, 1989, 2014) writings, accolades, and correspondences, both Coach Wilkinson and I were able to confirm this intent, and describe the processes by which he attempted to construct the team as moral community. Given this long-standing commitment to moral education, it stands to reason that Gustavus Tennis alumni would be able to speak about their moral education (although not in that language) and to team norms and their institutional valuing of the program (again, not in these theoretical terms) more than members of other programs where there was less evidence of an intentionally constructed moral atmosphere or commitment to moral education. Next the process and justification for selecting interviewees to describe the Gustavus tennis team moral atmosphere is described.

Peer nomination for interviewee selection. In order to provide depth of understanding of the program's moral atmosphere, former team members who played for Coach Wilkinson were interviewed. Rubin and Rubin (2005) argue that in order to produce a well-rounded series of interviews, researchers must find experienced and knowledgeable interviewees. Additionally, they contend that informants be selected so that the researcher gains multiple perspectives on the case. Therefore, the interviews for the present project included sixteen alumni, two from each half-decade of Wilkinson's tenure as head coach, in order to gain a well-rounded understanding of how players from various time periods in the program interpreted the team's moral atmosphere, more specifically, its collective norms and their institutional valuing of the team.

Using a form of peer nomination (Hamilton & Monson, 2012; Rule & Bebeau, 2005) I turned to the team itself to help select members to be interviewed. This purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990) allowed me to obtain "encultured informants" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) on the institutional value and collective norms of Gustavus Tennis under Coach Wilkinson, and fulfilled my goal of providing a well-rounded picture of the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Tennis while balancing my position as head coach and lead researcher. Two alumni from each half-decade of the Wilkinson coaching era (1970-2009) were identified, for a total of sixteen Gustavus Men's Tennis alumni to be interviewed for the present moral atmosphere case study. Alumni were eligible to be interviewed if they played in the program for at least two seasons. This criterion existed in order to ensure that data gained represented experiences about a wide range of teammates and dilemmas at various stages of their

careers (Creswell, 2007; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Athletes who played for me were exempt from participating.

One of the positive aspects of my positionality as a former team member and current head coach was identifying ability levels, leadership roles, and athletes who have experienced certain dilemmas that will allow them to provide rich description in response to the questions and themes that are central to the study. This was balanced by the peer nomination (Hamilton & Monson, 2012; Rule & Bebeau, 2005) system described below for selections of players to be interviewed so that the former team members determined the alumni who could best speak about team norms and institutional value.

The selection process for alumni was based on Kohlberg's concept of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989). The selection process was designed to identify alumni who could speak to the collective norms and institutional valuing of the program, and who could provide a well-rounded picture of the case of the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere. Additionally, the peer nomination selection method (Hamilton & Monson, 2012; Rule & Bebeau, 2005) as a form of purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990) for the alumni interviewees served as a mechanism for producing interviewees that would provide rich data, but that would also minimize my positionality as head coach, alum, and lead researcher.

Upon receiving approval from the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendices B & C), I began the peer selection process by asking Coach Wilkinson to select players from each half-decade that he believed could best speak to team norms and institutional value based on the descriptions of team norms and institutional value described above (Power et al., 1989). Next, I contacted as many

alumni as possible (we have a large and nearly comprehensive email list of our men's tennis alumni) via email (see Appendix C). Each alum was asked to nominate two to three teammates from their playing career at Gustavus who they felt could best provide the most information on how the team operated and functioned on and off the court, any dilemmas or controversial sportsmanship or behavior instances their team experienced, what it meant and still means to be a part of the Gustavus tennis program, and how being a part of the program influenced (and perhaps still influences) their moral and ethical decision making. The respondents were ensured that their responses and nominations would be kept confidential. Neither Coach Wilkinson nor other alumni had access to the responses. Only my advisor and I had access to the responses so that we could tally the nominations each individual received.

The email was sent to approximately 220 alumni in November of 2013. Their nomination responses were requested via email within a week. After one week, 19 alumni responded. A follow-up email was then sent to those alumni whom had not yet responded. Within a week, 43 more alumni responded, bringing the overall total number of alumni responses to 62. After consulting with expert panel members, 62 was determined to be a sufficient response rate (approximately 28%) from which to move forward with interviewee selection.

The next step in selecting interviewees from the peer nominations was to chart the email responses and nominations. Once all email responses and the teammates that each respondent had nominated were recorded, the nominee with the most nominations from each half-decade time period was determined. Because Coach Wilkinson was head coach for 39 years (rather than the more easily divisible number of 40 years), a determination

regarding how to divide the half-decades had to be made. Based on my insider positionality, I grouped the alumni, based on year of graduation, into the following half-decade groupings: early 1970s: 1970–75; late 1970's: 1976–80; early 1980s: 1981–85; late 1980s: 1986–90; early 1990s: 1991–95; late 1990s: 1996-2000; early 2000s: 2001–05; and late 2000s: 2005–09.

In order to be eligible for an interview request, an alumnus needed to receive at least three total nominations—either one from Coach Wilkinson and two from fellow alumni, or three from fellow alumni. The alumnus with the most nominations in a given half-decade was automatically selected for an interview request. The name of the nominee who was not randomly selected in the tie-breaking draw in the two eras with ties (late 1970s and early 1980s) was then returned to the pile of names from his half-decade that received at least three total nominations but that were not the team member with the most nominations. From those piles another name was randomly drawn to select the second interviewee from each half-decade. This process ensured that each decade included the top vote getter and a second eligible interviewee. Furthermore, it ensured that all of the second interviewees were nominated often enough by their peers to produce robust data, but were also randomly selected from the pool of eligible nominees in their era. This allowed me to protect against my insider positionality influencing interviewee selection while still producing "encultured informants" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). With the interviewees nominated, I then moved on to the data collection phase using the primary instrument of the present investigation's qualitative data collection: semi-structured interviews.

Instrument

Theory-based interview guides. The concept of moral atmosphere, as conceived by Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) was the primary theoretical framework for the present project. Therefore, the interviews used to obtain qualitative data for this study are based on a series of interviews Power et al. (1989) used to assess the moral culture of schools. The interview guides for Coach Wilkinson and the 16 alumni combine a series of questions from ethnographic and school dilemmas interviews. The ethnographic interviews were derived from Scharf (1973) and Reimer (1977) who studied the moral cultures of a prison and a kibbutz, respectively. These interviews include questions about disciplinary practices, peer and student-teacher relationships, and the sense of community and/or democracy in the group. The school dilemmas-style interviews present a series of dilemmas, based on the life of the community, in order to analyze "…collective moral prescriptions, that is, statements expressing the obligations of community members *qua* community members in the name of the community" (Power et al., 1989, p. 244). The combination of these two types of interviews allowed participants to present their institutional valuing and their perceptions and understanding of community norms and the extent to which the community upholds them.

Modification for tennis. After combining elements from the ethnographic and school dilemma-style interviews, the interview guides were adapted to tennis, and more specifically, to the Gustavus men's tennis program. The dilemmas were created to reflect key moral issues that Gustavus team members have faced over time. My knowledge of college tennis and the Gustavus program, combined with Coach Wilkinson's expertise in the same areas, informed the modification process. Essentially, the dilemmas were

designed to allow the participants to discuss their understanding of what a member of *their* Gustavus teams would be expected to do, as opposed to what a member of any tennis team or any tennis player would be expected to do, in a given dilemma or set of circumstances. Examples of the dilemmas were: how to respond when 100% certain a doubles partner made an incorrect line call at a crucial point in a national-level match, how to act when frustrated during an important match and tempted to throw one's racquet, and what to do when a teammate violates the team drinking policy prior to an important competition.

Expert panel review of interview guides. After combining the elements from the two types of moral atmosphere interviews (Power et al., 1989), an expert panel of sport and moral development researchers reviewed the guides and provided constructive feedback on them as tools to gain rich data on institutional value and collective norms. Based on this feedback, the interview guides were revised to include questions designed to produce data on team members' understanding of teammates' expectations for behavior based on the team membership and perception of team norms. The final versions of the interview guides are attached as Appendix G (Coach Wilkinson interview guide) and Appendix H (alumni interview guide).

Pilot interviews. After modifying the interview guides based on the feedback from the expert panel, pilot interviews were conducted with two former team members who at the time were serving as assistant coaches of the current Gustavus tennis team. The pilot interviewees were members of the program during the time that I have been the head coach. They signed consent forms prior to taking part in the pilot interview process, and they were notified that my doctoral committee and I would listen to the interviews so

the protocol could be improved. After conducting the pilot interviews, I listened to the audio files on multiple occasions. One expert researcher also listened to the audio files and provided constructive feedback on both the effectiveness of the questions and my interviewing and probing techniques.

The pilot interviews confirmed that the interview guide would be a useful tool for producing data on institutional value and collective norms so that the research questions of the study could be pursued effectively. Following the pilot interviews and the feedback from the expert panel on sport and moral development, slight adjustments to the introduction of the interview, the warm-up questions, the order of questions, and additions to some of the possible probes were made.

Data Collection and Protocol

Upon receiving approval from the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to conduct this dissertation study (see Appendices B & C), the interview participants were selected using the peer nomination process described above, and then the data collection phase of the study began.

Interviewing Coach Wilkinson. Upon receiving IRB approval, I interviewed Coach Wilkinson at his home in November of 2013 after receiving his permission with a signed consent form. The interview of Coach Wilkinson differed from those with former players. As the former head coach of the program, it was important to know the ways in which Wilkinson attempted to morally educate members of the Gustavus men's tennis program. In addition to answering questions about how he responded to moral dilemmas that arose during his time as a coach, and how he expected team members to reason and act in these dilemmas, Coach Wilkinson responded to a series of questions about how and

why he chose his methods for moral education. This allowed for an assessment of Wilkinson's moral education through the key theoretical constructs of institutional value and collective norms (Power et al., 1989). The interview with Coach Wilkinson also included a series of questions and probes that allowed him to speak about the ways in which his players contributed to the formation, transformation, and functioning of the team moral atmosphere so that the interview was focused on producing responses from Wilkinson that spoke to moral education and atmosphere of the Gustavus program. The interview lasted approximately 110 minutes.

Arranging interviews of team members. After the leading nominees and second nominees from each half-decade were established through peer nomination and random selection as described above, all sixteen of the peer nominated former team members were contacted via email (see Appendix D). They were notified that they had been selected by their peers to participate in the study, and asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview with me about their experience on the team. The investigation and its purpose were briefly described, they were ensured of their confidentiality, and I requested that they read the attached consent form (Appendix F). All 16 of the nominated alumni agreed to participate in the study. Upon receiving their email or phone notifications informing me of their willingness to be interviewed, we made arrangements for a time and place to meet in order for me to collect their signed consent form, and to conduct their interview.

Semi-structured interviews of former Gustavus men's tennis team members. As suggested by qualitative case study experts (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Stake 1994, 2003; Yin, 2002, 2009) multiple sources of data and interviewees from across each of the four

decades of Coach Wilkinson's career were utilized in order to achieve triangulation and present the case of the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere form multiple perspectives. The primary source of data was the series of semi-structured interviews. In conducting the interviews I followed the interview guides, but remained flexible to promote fluidity and a conversational format in order to encourage the participants to provide detailed responses (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Yin, 2009).

The interviews included a series of questions about the individual's demographics, his former roles within the team, what membership in the program meant to him, and his reasoning and actions in a series of dilemmas that did or could have arisen on and off the tennis court for members of the Gustavus men's tennis team. The players' responses to how they should and did respond (and how they believe their teammates did or would respond) in these situations, based on their membership in the program, allowed for analysis of their team's moral atmosphere. This included institutional valuing of the program, their understanding of the team's collective norms, and the ways in which they perceived the moral atmosphere of the program to influence team members' moral reasoning, expectations for behavior, and actual behavior. The goal of interviewing former team members was to gain qualitative data from them on the moral atmosphere components of team norms and institutional value so that the data could be coded based on these aspects of Kohlberg's theory of moral education. A detailed description of the coding scheme is provided below in the section below on data analysis.

From mid-December of 2013 to late January of 2014, I traveled around the Twin Cities Metropolitan area and conducted 13 of the semi-structured interviews in person at locations of the interviewees' choosing. Typically we met at their places of employment

or their homes. In one instance, a participant was interviewed at a coffee shop near his family's home. During that time period I also conducted three interviews via telephone with former team members who lived outside the state of Minnesota. In all cases, I audio recorded the interviews on at least two different audio recording devices. The interviews lasted between 90 and 210 minutes. Immediately following the completion of the interviews, the audio files were stored on my password-protected computer.

Interview transcription. The final stage of the interview portion of the data collection process was to have the audio interview files transcribed verbatim. As interviews were completed, I uploaded audio files to Datalyst LLC (2014) through their secure server. Datalyst is a company that provides multiple data-related services, including research-based professional transcription services (Datalyst LLC). Datalyst transcribed the interviews verbatim to the best of their ability. They time-marked and bolded any words, phrases, or names that they could not decipher. Upon receiving each of the transcripts as electronic documents from Datalyst, I closely examined and edited each transcript while listening to the corresponding audio recording. This helped to ensure that the transcripts were more accurate, more complete, and edited for misspelled names and words. I then chose a pseudonym for each of the 16 interviewees and replaced their real names with their pseudonyms. I stored all transcripts on a password-protected computer during this transcript review process.

Physical artifacts. Examination of physical and cultural artifacts was another method of data collection for this instrumental case study on the team moral atmosphere of the Gustavus men's tennis team. Yin (2009) notes that, in most case studies, these sources of evidence have less relevance than interviews, but that they can also be crucial

components in the overall study. For the present study, these physical and cultural data were of secondary importance to the 17 semi-structured interviews. They included archived team records and statistics, photographs, articles and press releases highlighting team accomplishments, written team policies, awards displayed at the team's facility (the Brown Outdoor Tennis Complex and the Swanson Tennis Center), and a statue at the facility dedicated to Coach Wilkinson by the Gustavus tennis alumni for his 35th year as head coach. I used these sources of data to confirm and supplement detail to interviewees' responses and descriptions of events and dilemmas they experienced during their time on the team.

Additionally, since his retirement, Coach Wilkinson (2014) has completed his memoir, *Let Love Serve*, a book on his career as a player, coach, and tennis camp director. As described above, the memoir includes his reflections on the Gustavus men's tennis program and utilizes stories about various teams and players to illustrate lessons central to communicating his philosophy on tennis and life. It includes the ways in which he taught lessons of sportsmanship, ethics, and morality through experiences he and his teams encountered over his 39 years as head coach. In the data collection phase, I used his memoir, like other physical artifacts, to confirm or add detail to accomplishments or the events surrounding certain stories or dilemmas that interviewees described their teams having encountered, and to confirm and better understand the moral curriculum that Coach Wilkinson was attempting to deliver to the team. Once again, my positionality provided considerable access to these physical artifacts, including Coach Wilkinson's (2014) memoir. I used them as needed, throughout the data collection and analysis

phases, to provide another useful and diverse source of data to help examine and describe the case of the Gustavus men's tennis moral atmosphere.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research can take on many forms (Yin, 2009). Creswell (2007) describes the general pattern of qualitative data analysis: "Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data…for analysis then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion" (p. 148). Within this pattern, there exists a great deal of variation. Both Yin (2009) and Creswell (2007) describe qualitative data analysis as a story-telling endeavor that requires a strategy for understanding and presenting data. The primary strategy for understanding and presenting the data in the present study was derived from Power et al.'s (1989) assessment of the moral atmospheres of just community schools. In order to answer research question 1a on how members of the team institutionally value the program, I coded interview data using the measures of level of institutional value and stage of community (Power et al., 1989). These codes are presented on the coding sheet (Appendix J), and the coding process is elaborated on below. In order to answer research question 1b on how team members understood the collective team norms as a result of their team membership, I coded interview data using the measures of degree of collectiveness, content of the norm, phase of the norm, and moral stage of the norm. These measures are presented in the coding sheet (Appendix J). The process for coding collective norms is elaborated on below.

Moral atmosphere coding from Kohlberg and colleagues. Stake (1994, 2003) and Creswell (2007) both advocate for continual qualitative data analysis, rather than waiting until all data has been collected to begin analyses. Therefore data analysis began as soon as transcripts became available from Datalyst. Each transcript was memoed, analyzed, and coded at least three times.

Yin (2009) argues that the most preferred qualitative analytic strategy is to rely on theoretical propositions to guide analysis. This was the primary strategy utilized to tell the story of the moral atmosphere of the Gustavus men's tennis program, from 1970–2009. The theoretically based coding process for the present case study of the moral atmosphere of the Gustavus men's tennis team involved using *a priori* codes from Power et al. (1989) to deductively analyze the institutional value and collective norms of the teams of each half-decade. The codes stem from Power et al. (1989) on their assessment of just community schools' institutional value and collective norms. Interview data was coded based on the categories Kohlberg and colleagues used to assess these facets of the moral atmosphere. These categories and the process by which the institutional value and collective norms of the Gustavus teams of each half-decade were coded in order to examine their moral atmospheres are described below.

Coding institutional value. Power et al. (1989) conceptualized five levels (0 to 4) of *institutional value*. These levels measure the extent to which group members feel connected to the community, starting with "rejection" at Level 0 and moving to "normative community" at Level 4. Each level of institutional value functioned as a code into which interview data pertaining to institutional value could be deductively placed. A

full description of each level of institutional value can be viewed on the coding sheet (Appendix J).

The second measure of institutional value is the *stage of community*. This describes the team's shared understanding of itself as a community (Power et al., 1989). These stages range from 1 to 4. At Stage 1, the team is not a community. At Stage 4, it is a community that is valued as an entity distinct from the relationships of individual members. The stages of community can be viewed in detail on the coding sheet (Appendix J). Each of these stages formed a coding category into which interview data could be placed in order to examine patterns that emerged in the assessment of the team members' institutional valuing of the Gustavus men's tennis teams from their eras.

After multiple readings of the interview transcripts to immerse myself in the data (Creswell, 2007; Rubin & Rubin, 2005), the institutional value of each era's teams was deductively coded. Every interview transcript was examined and all partial or complete responses to any question or probe from each transcript that was related to a particular era's institutional valuing of the team were pulled out. The level of institutional value and stage of community were coded deductively for each era based on those responses. The complete results are in Chapter Four (see Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2).

Coding collective norms. In order to use Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) scheme of analysis for this central component of moral atmosphere, team norms were identified inductively and independently. The transcripts were reread and every passage that appeared to contain discussion of a potential collective norm was identified using methodological guidelines for qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This resulted in 28 initial norms. Of these 28 norms, 16 were discussed

by at least 12 of the 16 (75%) interviewees, which reflected a critical mass of agreement and consistency across interviewees. After consulting with the expert panel of sport moral development scholars, it was determined that these 16 norms were rich, appropriate, sufficiently distinct and useful, and would allow for rich description of the case and culture (Creswell, 2003), and thereby delineate the moral atmosphere theoretically developed by Power et al. (1989). After agreement was reached for the 16 norms to be utilized for assessment, each norm was coded for each half-decade (so that the team, and not the individual interviewees, remained the unit of analysis) based on each of the four assessments for norms that Kohlberg and colleagues (1989) used to assess the collective norms of the just community schools.

Kohlberg and colleagues' (Power et al., 1989) four assessments for collective norms formed four categories of codes for the present study. The first assessment category is the *degree of collectiveness*. It deals with the extent that a group is regulated by shared norms. The scale includes degrees ranging from 1–15. Individual norms range from 1–5, authority norms from 6–7, aggregate norms from 8–9, and collective norms from 10–15. A description of each of the 15 degrees is located in the coding sheet (Appendix J).

The second collective norm measure is *norm content* (Power et al., 1989). There are four types of norm content. Norms of community are directed toward building harmony of group. Norms of substantive fairness involve respect for equal rights and liberties of individuals. Norms of procedural fairness are processes through which rules of the group are made and enforced. Finally, norms of order protect the survival and orderly functioning of the organization. Again, these types formed *a priori* codes in data

analysis for the Gustavus tennis moral atmosphere case. Further detail on what constitutes each type of norm is included on the coding sheet (Appendix J).

The third collective norm assessment measures how committed group members are to seeing that the norms are upheld. This is called "phase of commitment" or "phase of the norm" (Power et al., 1989). The phases from 0 to 7 delineate a sequence in which group members commit themselves to upholding shared norms. The phases progress from Phase 0 where no collective norm exists to Phases 6 and 7 where the collective norms are expected and upheld through persuasion and reporting respectively (Power et al., 1989). Based on the advice of one of the authors of the coding scheme, the highest phase used in the present study was Phase 6 because the reporting of norm transgression was less applicable to a team community as it was for a school or classroom community. Using these seven phases (0–6) as codes, I coded each of the 16 Gustavus Tennis team norms in each of the eight half-decades in order to analyze the moral atmospheres of those time periods. A full description of each phase is shown on the coding sheet (Appendix J).

Finally, Power et al. (1989) assessed collective norms in terms of their *moral stage*. The stages are closely related to Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning. According to Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989), fitting the collective norms into stages is difficult because the norms have to represent more than the moral reasoning stage of each individual. The group norms cannot be reduced to the combined moral reasoning stages of the individual group members, but rather are derived from individuals' "actual interactions or performances in a group context" (Power et al., 1989, p. 137). While the same stage categories as Kohlberg's individual stages are used to assess collective norms, understanding of collective stages differs from Kohlberg's individual stages in two

important ways. First, the norms of the group do not necessarily need to start at Stage 0 or Stage 1. Second, group norms may regress in stage because experienced members of groups may eventually move out of the community and new, less experienced members may join (Power et al., 1989). A description of each of the three levels and six stages of collective norms is found on the coding sheet (Appendix J).

Despite the difficulty in coding the norms of the group, Kohlberg and colleagues are clear that doing so is a key component of assessing the collective norms of a group's moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989). Thus in the present study, the responses of interviewees were stage-coded, and then assigned a stage or stages to that half-decade's teams for each of the sixteen norms. In establishing the collective stage of each of the 16 norms for the teams of the eight eras, the patterns of the team's collective moral reasoning were analyzed for each norm during Coach Wilkinson's tenure. With some norms, the responses showed strong signs of more than one stage. In these cases, the tactic of Power et al. (1989) in assigning both applicable stages to that era for the given norm was used.

During the coding process I created a document that compiled every passage from every player that addressed each of the sixteen collective norms for each of the eight time periods. The document included the coding of each norm in each era and the corresponding passages to serve as evidence for the chosen codes. The length of this document prohibited inclusion as an appendix. The results of this coding process for both institutional value and collective norms as assessments of the moral atmosphere of each of the eight half-decade eras are presented in Chapter Four. Next, the ways in which I

addressed the ethical concerns and trustworthiness that accompanied conducting the study are discussed.

Ethical Concerns and Trustworthiness

Conducting a valid, reliable, and ethical case study on sport moral atmosphere in the Gustavus men's tennis program, with myself positioned near the center of the case's context, required a number of important procedures. First, it required a description of my past and present experiences in the program so that readers can better understand the context of the case. This project was an example of "backyard research" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) as I studied my own organization. Creswell (2003, 2007) warns that many instances of backyard research have had biased, incomplete, or compromised data reporting. He advises, "When it becomes important to study one's own organization or workplace, I typically recommend that multiple strategies of validation be used to ensure that the account is accurate and insightful" (Creswell, 2007, p. 122).

Creswell (2003, 2007) presents multiple strategies for establishing validation and trustworthiness for this type of qualitative research. In most qualitative studies he recommends using two or three of them to ensure and promote credibility. Given my positionality, however, I used six of the strategies for increasing trustworthiness. Below is a description of each strategy used, and how I incorporated each into this project.

Triangulation. Creswell (2003, 2007) refers to triangulation as the process by which "researchers make use of multiple and different sources, methods, investigators, and theories to provide corroborating evidence. Typically, this process involves corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective" (p. 208). The primary data source was to explore the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere

from the perspectives of 16 former players from four different decades. Team documents such as team rules and philosophy, and Coach Wilkinson's (1984, 1989, 2014) writings were also used. I triangulated interview data by confirming stories and responses from interviewees with these sources of data in order to add validity to the study.

Multiple coders. Another form of triangulation involves having multiple coders conduct data analysis (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Yin, 2009). Creswell (2007) describes the use of multiple coders to add reliability to qualitative studies as a fluid and flexible process. He also asserts that this process is particularly useful in studies that have highly interpretive coding processes. The use of Power et al.'s (1989) coding scheme to assess the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere over four decades required a highly interpretive coding procedure. The use of multiple coders increased the validity of the coding process, especially given the complexity of the coding scheme. Two additional coders, one moral literature expert and one non-expert, helped establish trustworthiness of the coding schema for this data.

Creswell (2007) notes that the establishment of intercoder agreement in a case such as the present dissertation study can take many forms depending on the time and resources available, and the type of material being coded. In the process of establishing intercoder agreement, the researcher must establish whether he will seek agreement on codes, themes, or both (Armstrong, Gosling, Weinman, & Marteau, 1997; Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the present study, agreement was sought on codes with the sport moral development expert because Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) categories for coding institutional value and collective norms served as themes.

Based on Creswell's (2007) description, I began the intercoder agreement process by selecting 2 of 16 norms (12.5% of the data), one dealing with the how the team plays or competes, and one dealing with how team members interact with one another. All three coders (including the primary researcher) used the Power et al. (1989) coding rubric and coded the content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage of the each norm for each half-decade independently. All codes were placed in a master coding sheet so that comparison of coding accuracy across coders for the four categories of moral atmosphere could be analyzed easily. In reviewing the codes of the non-expert in sport moral development literature in conjunction with mine and those of the expert in sport moral development literature, my advisor and I determined that the non-expert's lack of experience with the literature and coding scheme rendered the non-expert's codes useless, and they were not utilized for analysis or verification. The need for a high level of expertise in the literature and coding scheme is crucial for being able to usefully and effectively code the data (Cresswell 2007).

Next, the codes in each of the four norm categories in each era where the expert coder and primary researcher disagreed by more than one level were identified. We agreed on the content of both norms. With degree of collectiveness, because of the high number (15) of gradations of degree, we considered assigned codes to be in disagreement if they were at differing levels of collectiveness. The levels, according to Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) coding scheme are as follows: Degrees 1–5 are individual based norms, Degrees 6–7 are authority norms, Degrees 8–9 are aggregate norms, and Degrees 10–15 are collective norms. For example, if one of us coded a norm as being at Degree 13 and the other 14, we considered these codes to be in agreement because both degrees

were collective norms. However, if one of us coded a norm in a particular era at Degree 7 and the other at Degree 13, we considered our codes to be in disagreement. For phase and stage, we considered our codes to be in agreement if they were the same, or within one phase or stage of each other.

Where disagreement occurred, we discussed the reasoning behind our assigned code until we eventually arrived at a consensus choice for the code to assign in each case. For Degree of collectiveness, we initially disagreed by level on four of the eight degrees on the first norm, and two of the eight degrees on the second norm. In each of these six instances, we discussed our reasoning until we arrived at a consensus and chose the code to be used in the presentation of the results. With the phase and stage codes, we had no disagreements that went beyond one phase or stage. Overall, the primary researcher and the expert coder agreed on 58 out of a possible 64 (90.6%) total coding instances, which is an acceptable inter-rater reliability metric (Field, 2005). Disagreements were discussed to consensus, which clarified and refined the coding process. Subsequently, the primary researcher solely coded the remainder of the data.

Peer debriefing. In addition to the triangulation through multiple sources of data and multiple coders, peer debriefing was used to enhance trustworthiness. Creswell (2007) describes peer debriefing as providing an external check of the research process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Holt and Sparkes (2001) describe the peer review partner as a devil's advocate who keeps the researcher honest and asks challenging and difficult questions about methods, meanings and interpretations. This peer reviewer also listens to the researcher with a sympathetic ear and allows the researcher to share thoughts and feelings about the research process. Two members of my doctoral committee who are

experts in sport and moral development have engaged in peer debriefing with me throughout the project. So, too, has a third peer, a University professor trained in sport psychology, pedagogy, and qualitative research methods.

Negative case analysis. Creswell (2003) argues that it is crucial for the validity of the study to present any and all negative or discrepant information that runs counter to the themes of the study. Without question, some of the interview data reveals that former players did not have a sense of the team moral atmosphere, or had unexpectedly low understanding of team norms, low institutional value of membership in the program, and low-level stages of moral reasoning behind their adherence to norms. Every effort was made to include this information, where appropriate, in telling the story of the Gustavus Tennis moral atmosphere under Coach Wilkinson in an honest fashion. Omitting the negative aspects of the case from the results in order to protect the program's reputation or myself as the head coach would severely detract from the validity of the study. Therefore I took care to include negative case analysis whenever the data dictated the existence of such results.

Clarifying researcher bias from the outset. Creswell (2007) notes that this process involves the researcher commenting on past experiences, biases, prejudices, and orientations likely to influence the study. Rather than attempt to remain un-biased throughout the research process, I aimed to be up front and open about my role in the program, both past and present. While my biases as Gustavus coach might be stronger in this study than those of a researcher looking at a team with which she has had no previous involvement, it is important to note that qualitative research is never without bias. Janesick (1995) writes:

> There is no value-free or bias-free design. The qualitative researcher early on identifies his or her biases and articulates the ideology or conceptual frame for the study…As we try to make sense of our social world and give meaning to what we do as researchers, we continually raise awareness of our own biases. There is no attempt to pretend that research is value free. (p. 212)

My positionality (described previously) was made clear from the outset. I took care to make sure that I was open and clear about my biases at each stage of the research. This will help ensure that I was not simply seeing data that presents our program and its members in a positive light, as a consistently high-functioning moral community, or Coach Wilkinson only as an effective and moral educator.

As head coach, my job is often to present our program to prospective student-athletes in the most positive light in order to attract them to the program. I took measures to let the data speak for itself and to analyze it through the theories upon which the study is based—namely that of Power, Higgins, and Kohlberg (1989) on moral education and moral atmosphere. Of course, my positionality gave me access to more depth and detail when selecting former team members to interview, developing dilemmas and interview guides, analyzing and interpreting the data, and reporting and presenting the data. Yet I took care and sought assistance from others in order to make sure that the data is not presented as an endorsement for the program, but rather used as a case to help describe a sport moral atmosphere without concern for how doing so presents our program.

Member checking. Creswell (2003, 2007) describes member checking as seeking participants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations of the account the researcher presents. Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe member checking as the most

important technique for credibility in a qualitative study. Stake (1994) recommends allowing participants to clarify language in these transcripts where appropriate. Participants interviewed for the present study were given the opportunity to view transcripts of their own interviews and to notify me of any corrections or rewording that needed to take place. In two cases, interviewees replied to me via email that there were minor spelling mistakes in their interview transcripts. I corrected theses mistakes immediately upon receiving notification from the participants. There were no instances in which a participant notified me that his responses were inaccurate or misrepresentative of his perspective or intentions during the interview.

Protecting confidentiality. The protection of the individuals interviewed and discussed was also crucial for the present study (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 1995; Stake, 1994). Pseudonyms for interviewees and those team members discussed by interviewees have been used when presenting results so that no members of the program are identified by name in the reporting of results. A spreadsheet on my password-protected computer matches their real names with their pseudonyms. Every interviewee was given an opportunity to review the full transcript of his interview, and to opt out of the study at any stage. Exploring the program's moral atmosphere while protecting the individuals and their trust was a crucial balance to maintain throughout the study, given my dual role as lead researcher and head coach.

Rich, thick description. Creswell (2003, 2007) suggests that thick, rich description of findings adds validity and credibility to qualitative research by transporting readers to the setting and allowing them to compare the detailed description of the case to other cases or environments. The goal is not to allow for direct comparisons of results

between cases or studies, but to allow for conversations to develop around shared experiences. The results in the following chapter have no shortage of detail and description when it comes to my presentation of the case, the information that surrounds the program, coaches, and alumni, and the interview responses relating to the program's moral atmosphere. I have attempted to allow the interviewees' voices to be heard clearly and often in describing the Gustavus tennis program moral atmosphere and its development during Coach Wilkinson's time as head coach of the program.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the rationale for selecting a qualitative, single instrumental case study as the method, and Gustavus Men's Tennis under Coach Steve Wilkinson as the case for the present moral atmosphere study. The study is grounded in constructivist epistemology. The chapter included a description of the Gustavus men's tennis program, my role as lead researcher with insider positionality, and precedent for insider research. The chapter also summarized the peer nomination process used to identify the study participants, and the data collection instrument and process. Finally, the chapter concluded with an outline of the main ethical concerns and issues of validity and trustworthiness of the investigation, and the measures taken to address them, including: triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, clarifying of researcher bias, member checking, and rich, thick description. The findings and results of this moral atmosphere case study are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RESULTS

The Moral Atmosphere of Gustavus Men's Tennis—1970-2009

The primary research question for the present study involved examining the ways in which former members of the Gustavus men's tennis program retrospectively understand the moral atmosphere of their program. This process included exploring former team members' institutional valuing of the team, their identification and understanding of the team's collective norms while they were a part of the program, and their expectations for behavior based on their institutional valuing of the program and understanding of these norms. Specifically, the research question and sub-questions for the study were as follows:

1. How is the team moral atmosphere understood, retrospectively, by former team members?
    a. How do the members of the team institutionally value (Power et al., 1989) the program?
    b. How do team members understand the collective team norms (Power et al., 1989), as a result of their team membership?

After analyzing the transcripts from interviews with both former team members and the head coach based on Kohlberg and colleagues' (Power et al., 1989) measures for assessing the moral atmosphere of just community schools, some important themes that describe the development of the Gustavus men's tennis team moral atmosphere emerged. The primary finding was that the team members' understanding of the team moral

atmosphere showed an improving or stable moral atmosphere from one half-decade to the next, with only one exception. Even though the expectations for behavior may have been clear for the team members of a given time period, lower levels of institutional valuing, stage of community, and collectiveness, phase, and stage of team norms emerged when influential team members were not in line with developing, upholding, and promoting a high functioning moral atmosphere.

Assessing Institutional Value

To answer research question 1a (How do the members of the team institutionally value the program?), I examined responses from each interviewee on a series of questions in the interview guide (Appendix H) designed to allow the alumni to speak about their institutional valuing of the team. I then deductively coded the institutional value of each era using the two measures for institutional value: level of institutional value and stage of community (Power et al., 1989). I examined each interview transcript and pulled out all partial or complete responses to any question or probe from each transcript that were related to a particular era's institutional valuing of the team. The level of institutional value and stage of community coded to each era was based on those responses. The complete results are in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 below.

Levels of Institutional Value and Stage of Community. The first measure of institutional value is the level of institutional value. This describes the extent to which team members feel connected to the community. The second measure of institutional value is the stage of community. This describes the team's shared understanding of itself as a community (Power et al., 1989). I assessed each half-decade of the Gustavus Tennis program under Coach Wilkinson based on these measures. The pattern that emerged is

that over time, the levels of institutional value and stage of community both improved or were maintained, with the exception of the time period between the early and late 2000s when a decrease in both institutional value and stage of community occurred. The levels of institutional valuing and stage of community for each half-decade of the program are shown in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2, and are described below.

Table 1

Levels of Institutional Value and Stages of Community of Gustavus Tennis 1970-2009

Time Period	Level of Institutional Value	Stage of Community
Early 1970s	Level 1) Instrumental Intrinsic	Stage 1
Late 1970s	Level 2) Enthusiastic Identification	Stage 2
Early 1980s	Level 3) Spontaneous Community	Stage 3
Late 1980s	Level 3) Spontaneous Community	Stage 3
Early 1990s	Level 3) Spontaneous Community	Stage 3
Late 1990s	Level 3) Spontaneous Community	Stage 3
	Level 4) Normative Community	Stage 4
Early 2000s	Level 4) Normative Community	Stage 4
Late 2000s	Level 3) Spontaneous Community	Stage 3
	Level 2) Enthusiastic Identification	Stage 2

Figure 1

Levels of Institutional Value of Gustavus Men's Tennis 1970-2009

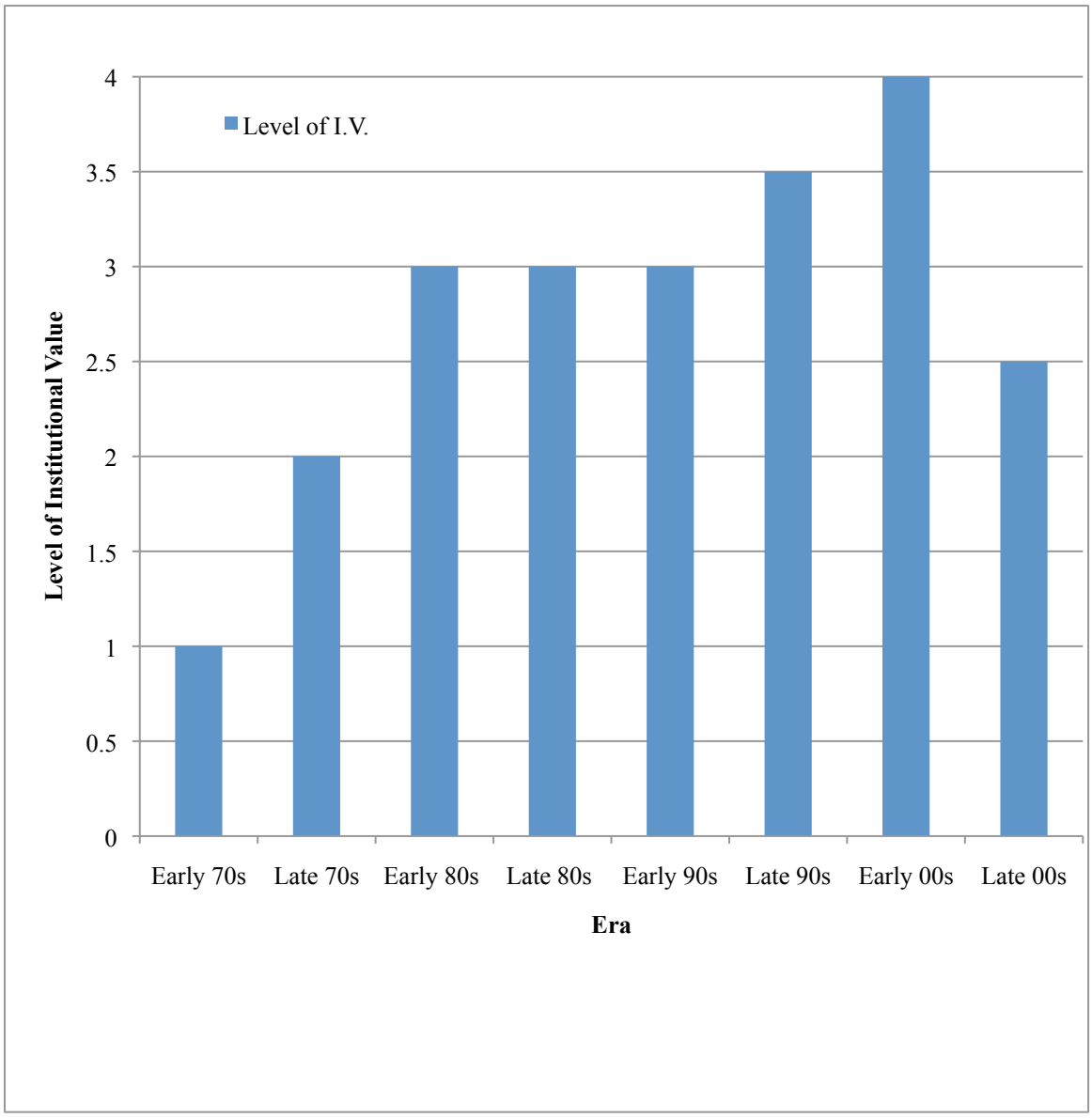
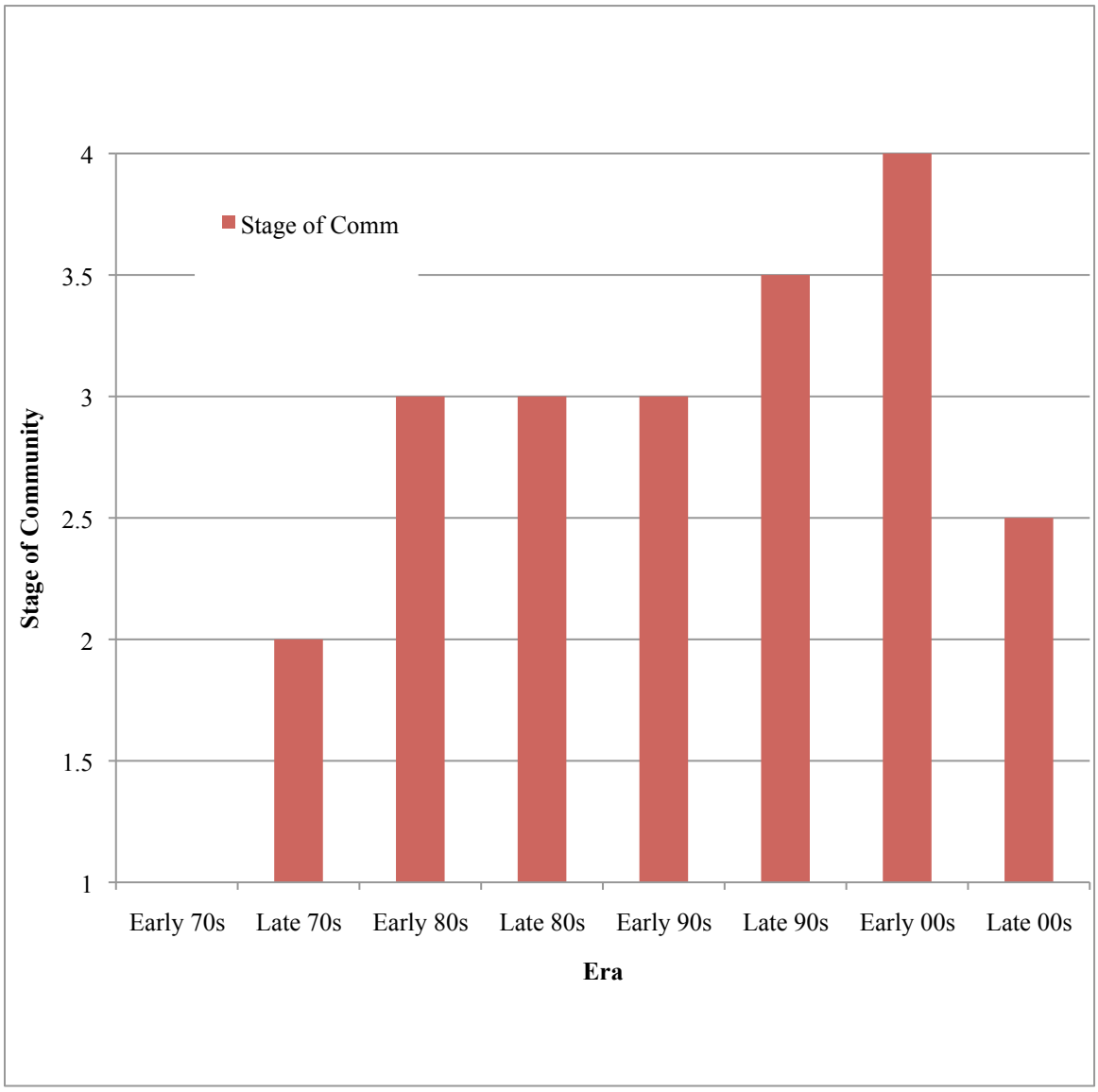


Figure 2

Stages of Community of Gustavus Men's Tennis 1970-2009



Institutional value of early 1970s teams: "Everybody was pretty much on their own."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 1- *Instrumental Extrinsic:* The team is valued as an institution that helps individuals meet their own needs.

Stage of Community: Stage 1 - The team is not a community.

In the first half of the 1970s, the beginning of the Wilkinson era, team members described their community as a group that allowed them to pursue their own individual goals as tennis players, but that they were not closely connected to one another. According to Morris:

> I think everybody was pretty much on their own type of thing. I don't think, I never thought, like, "Oh the team will bail me out." Or "The team, you know, I'll look for the team for a little moral support." As it's actually more of my roommates or buddies or guys on the floor that would be closer that way.

This group institutionally valued their team community at Level 1. They were an institution that helped individuals meet their own needs. Similarly, the stage of their community was low. At Stage 1 (i.e., the team is not a community), their descriptions of their team yielded very little indication that they were a community at all. According to Morris:

> Yeah, you know, again I don't think we weren't that much of a team as like I saw with you guys where I got your back type of thing, other than Wilson and I maybe were real close. Otherwise you are, you know, you are buddies, you are friends, you get along fine. We don't necessarily eat together every night. We kind of, we had our own circle of friends. So, like, I was sometime surprised a lot of times the

> things had gone, well, how come I haven't heard about this, this is, you know, things have gone on with the other guys on the team. I didn't know of it.

Despite this lack of institutional value, the teams of the early 1970s did have a fair measure of tennis playing success. Their top player was a National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) national champion in both singles and doubles. He was not, however, a promoter of the team concept. In fact, he would "boycott" matches in which he felt the opponents were not strong enough to be worth his time. Most of the time, the team was annoyed with his behavior, but they tolerated, and sometimes enabled, him because they were capable of winning without him when he was not in the lineup. Even with the behavioral struggles of their top player, they were the first Gustavus team to earn a top-ten national finish, and to produce All-American players. When they describe their team, they only mention results, not relationships or attachment to the team community. Morris recalled:

> The next year, our junior year, was probably our best team. That's when Wilson, we actually got three transfers; all were very good players.…But then that junior year I think we, I don't remember our record but, you know, we lost to Minnesota like 5-4. We beat Iowa, you know, and we beat some DI teams. And, well, Wilk had put together a pretty high-powered schedule. I mean we played six DI teams during that spring. And now, then this year, that's when Pascal started to get a little bit sort of full of himself, you know, he would always say, kind of joke, and say he was going to boycott matches like he wouldn't play against Augsburg, and teams like that. But that was all right because we were deep enough. Wilson just moved up to one and I played two.

These teams were comprised of individuals, some of who were friends, and none of whom morally reasoned or behaved a certain way because of their team membership. Coach Wilkinson was not deeply committed to promoting the team as a community in these beginning years of his tenure as head coach. While he had the beginnings of an understanding of his approach to playing and competing (Wilkinson, 2014), he was in the early stages of developing his coaching philosophy, and was years away from intentionally creating a moral community. Morris describes the atmosphere:

> Again, I don't think in my era he expressed those values that strongly to us. And by that I mean I don't know that even his whole philosophy on sportsmanship was that evolved at that point where he was ready to preach to us that in this situation, do this and, you know, that sort of thing. He was more, we were sort of more like as things came up, we discuss it and [ask each other] "How would you do it?" This is how I see it, you know—he might have said stuff like, "You are wrong to handle it that way," but he never said stuff like, "As a Gustavus, you know, team, I expect you to do this next time."

Coach Wilkinson's role in this earliest team community was more as a facilitator of tennis opportunities than as a developer of a moral culture. In fact, he was still a full-time professor of world religions in the religion department. He initially came to Gustavus in this capacity and was recruited to coach the tennis team on a volunteer basis when the president of the college learned of his outstanding tennis playing background. Morris and Duane both describe Coach Wilkinson working closely, on an individual mentoring basis, with teammates that faced challenges on and off the court. There were some team matches, however, that he did not attend because of academic or teaching commitments.

When the team's top player would boycott matches, Morris reports that Coach Wilkinson allowed him to do so with no consequences. His primary method for teaching tennis and sportsmanship was his own example. According to Duane:

> Well, everybody liked being around him, because he's a star and he knows what he was doing. And he's teaching you things you never heard of before. You respect him first of all. And he's a nice guy. He's a real coach. This guy knew what he was doing. And then I had him for comparative religions as an instructor. So that's kind of a little twist. So I knew him as a very good instructor, teaching an open-minded comparative religion class.

Coach Wilkinson had an influence on the team community through his own sportsmanlike behavior and willingness to play a mentoring role in the lives of players, but he was not yet intentionally creating a moral community. He was developing tennis players, and instructing them to behave with a bit more respect for their opponents in situations where they were being disrespectful. Morris said:

> Again, I think everybody was, they are going off for themselves I remember having a few issues. I, with Wilk who would be watching the match, I actually I had this thing, I don't know how I developed it, but if I felt like, especially if he was watching, if I felt like I should be beating this guy and he'd like throw in, like, a soft second serve and I'd make an error, I'd make a comment like "That was the easiest serve, how do I miss such a easy ball?" And Wilk, after, and I do that maybe three or four times during the match, and then Wilk would pull me aside and said, "Morris, that is the most condescending thing, you are telling this guy he's got…"—you know loud enough so everybody can hear—"…that you are

> so much better than him, that you shouldn't be…," and you know. Kind of like, yeah, you are right, I feel kind of embarrassed by the whole thing. So I just kind of like stopped it right there, you know. I thought, you know, you are right, that's what I am doing. And you know I am trying to tell everybody that was watching that I was clearly better than this guy and that he's only hanging in there because I am not, you know. And so I kind of cleaned up my act there a little bit.

Wilkinson handled these types of issues on an individual basis. He was not yet using or discussing these instances to develop the team into a stronger community. But, his willingness to address them and help players overcome these issues was a key stage in his development of the philosophy that would evolve in the coming years. Despite their low level of institutional value and community stage, the teams of the early 1970s were accomplished enough in terms of their results to help attract more talented players. The second half of that decade was marked by the presence of two top national-level players who would provide Coach Wilkinson with a new set of challenges that would lead to the start of his desire to develop a coaching philosophy that included teaching values and promoting the team as a moral community.

Institutional value of late 1970s teams: "All we talked about was winning championships."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 2-*Enthusiastic Identification:* The team is valued intrinsically at special moments when members feel an intense sense of identification with the team (e.g. when the team wins an important contest).

Stage of Community: Stage 2-There is no clear sense of community apart from exchanges among group members.

In the second half of the 1970s, Everett and Oscar arrived at Gustavus. They immediately made an impact on the team in terms of results, making the national doubles semi-final as freshmen. They would go on to lead the team to the 1980 NCAA Team Championship in their senior season, winning national individual singles and doubles titles along the way. They had a major impact on the team culture, too, but it had mostly to do with raising the level of effort and focus dedicated toward winning. According to Oscar:

> We had a totally different mentality. We were, we wanted to win and we just, we wanted to win championships. And so we became, then sort of became, I don't want to say divided, but there was the older guys who are more happy or content and there is us and a couple of other younger guys, particularly, that we were just like "No, this is bull.…" All we talked about was winning championships. So, like, one of our philosophies was nothing really matters until May. We're going to peak at May.

In this time period, the teams were far less interested in creating a moral community than they were in winning and in creating a "winning culture" in which championship-level tennis was played. They valued the team community at a level greater than that of Coach Wilkinson's teams from the previous half-decade, but not as it related to team behavior or norms surrounding anything other than winning. According to Oscar: "No expectations, no, none of that. Zero. See, again, I'm convinced all that stuff was developed in time, as time went along…but not at the beginning."

Essentially, Oscar and Everett describe a team at a Level 2 (Enthusiastic Identification) of institutional value (Power et al., 1989). These teams shared special

moments in which the team members felt extremely connected to the team. Both interviewees from this time period were members of the first, or "Gold" team, but felt great pride for the whole program when the second, or "Black" team won the conference championship. Oscar said:

> I don't know if you know this but, like, when we were, we were so good as a team, the Gold team, that one year our second team, or the Black team, won the conference tournament winning every flight. They won all six singles, all three doubles, none of the top six guys played so we swept, and we went, and we went and watched them, we went to it and we were rooting hard and it was cool, I mean, they won the conference winning every flight with our second group.

In addition to being a level above their predecessors in institutional value, the teams of the late 1970s were also a stage higher in terms of community than their predecessors. As a community at Stage 2, they were a collection of individuals who valued the community insofar as it met their concrete needs as team members (Power et al., 1989). They valued the community because it was an environment in which teammates pushed each other to work hard, improve their games, and win matches. Everett described:

> I was very proud, because we were a good team. We knew we could beat some really good teams, and we did. Some of the individuals on the team had some individually really, really great wins, which, I think it all, it all went to benefit the school, but certainly to us, and our era. And so, we felt good about that.

In order to achieve this level of success, both players point to having a team community that valued working hard for each other despite rifts that some players—Everett and Oscar included—had with Coach Wilkinson. Oscar recalled:

> The team was so good and so deep that if somebody didn't measure up, that was it, you know, somebody would take a spot. So you were always under, you were always under the gun that you had to measure up, you know.…Effort. Effort, like, if we thought somebody was being lazy or, you know, or something like that, but, again, I just can't remember, remember times when that ever happened, because you know, that just, guys didn't, guys, I mean, all the guys worked hard and all the guys worked hard. I never saw an incident or can recall one where that kind of, and I mean, sure, you had guys, guys that choked and guys who, you know, didn't perform what they should. But it wasn't from [lack of] effort.

Everett described Coach Wilkinson as being too easy going in terms of disciplining team members. He did recall Coach Wilkinson prioritizing hard work and the team members buying in:

> Well, we thought he was a kind of *laissez-faire*. But there was a lot of wisdom in what he said. Because you really can't control winning and losing. You can control how hard to work at it. And we worked hard. We always wanted to be, you know, in as good a shape or better as who we're playing and, you know, all those kinds of things.

Both Oscar and Everett were quick to point out, however, that they were not working hard for Coach Wilkinson, even if they did adopt some of his teachings. At their best, they co-existed with him. At their worst, they clashed. They felt Coach Wilkinson was

preoccupied with other commitments, namely the founding of his Tennis and Life Camps, in the wake of being denied tenure to the Gustavus faculty. They also thought he should have been tougher on them, policing inappropriate behavior on and off the court with more stern consequences. Oscar said,

> We needed consequences and he said, "No." He said, "You guys needed to be mature enough to handle that yourself…," and blah, blah, blah. And we're like, well, obviously we're not. So he did not want to do any kind of enforcement or consequences for on-court actions, which I felt was a mistake and, you know, so through our four years we, you know, we got away with anything, you know. I hit a ball at him in a match on the sideline.

Furthermore, they felt that he would not alter his approach to best help players based on their different personalities. According to both interviewees from this half-decade, Coach excelled at developing "the disciples," the guys who followed his teachings without question. But they felt he was less adept at working with players who were less willing to conform to his technical, tactical, and mental approaches to playing and competing. Everett says: "Again, I'll say Wilk was really good at lifting the talent of people who, maybe, weren't as advanced. But, managing better talent with stronger egos, and that kind, he just wasn't as good at that."

Oscar and Everett described division during their time on the team. It was not between the Gold Team and the Black Team, as one might expect. Rather, it was between the team members who were more on board with Coach, and those who sided with Oscar and Everett and looked to challenge Coach at every turn. According to Everett:

> Yeah, Austin, Jeremy, you know, although it was kind of those two, and there were some other guys who were really more Wilk-disciples that would do whatever he said, and they were always really proper and everything. And there was Oscar and I always kind of pushing the edges. And so there, there did become sort of, you know, a divide.…And so, they were the disciples and then there were the renegades, if you will, you know. And so guys like Adrian who was also of our era, a little younger, very influential. He'd come with us all day long. You know, because he wanted to go, you know, have fun, and you know, do this stuff. And Sal, he'd come along with us. And so, we'd off doing our deal. And they'd be sleeping or doing yoga or whatever.

These challenges are described below in the analysis of the team's norms from this era.

The team community worked hard to push each other to be better tennis players and to keep their spots in the lineup, but not for Coach Wilkinson. While they did follow his advice where they felt it was beneficial (e.g., developing focus on the things within their control and letting go of the results), and showed support for each other during matches against outside competition, they were a community that prioritized individual needs ahead of group development. Everett pointed out:

> He was, but again I go back to my retrospect on this whole deal, was that he was in a pretty tough time and trying to figure out himself, and I think he was very distracted. And now, you know, I was headstrong and competitive and wanted to do what I wanted do. And Oscar kind of was that way, too. The two of us really, really, you know, did some things more out of immaturity and ego than anything

> else. But we caused some rifts in the team, because we were pretty forceful in how we thought about things. And so, we, we butted heads on a few things.

Everett and Oscar's teams raised the level of play and competitive intensity at Gustavus. Everett continued:

> The dynamics of that era, we changed the culture a little bit into winning championships, that was the goal, and our team became closer in the sense of support and respect between each other on the court, not necessarily in terms of hanging out socially, but definitely in terms of support, you know, and that kind of stuff.

This team forced Coach Wilkinson to begin constructing an approach for handling players who were not fully on board with his philosophy. His last ditch effort to troubleshoot the situation with Oscar and Everett was a conversation Coach Wilkinson had with the two of them in their senior year. Everett recalls:

> That's probably some of what led, after a few years, to this come-to-Jesus meeting up in the conference room, when Wilk said, "You know, I just, I can't, I can't keep doing this, because you guys are becoming too much of a negative influence," in his mind, from the team. And, yeah, and he's probably right. I mean, after that deal in Iowa. I think that was the time when we had this, this confrontation in the, in the conference room.…See, and also after we met with Wilk, we got a lot more. We curbed our activity to support him. And literally we made a deal with him. So, hey, I am not going to support everything that you want to do, but I'm not going to, I'm not going to bad mouth either. I'm not going to

> oppose you. You go ahead and we'll play. And we'll do our deal. But you know, we kind of agreed to co-exist, sort of.

Coach began to realize that he needed the support of a critical mass of players in order to create a moral community in line with the values and norms he was promoting. This support ideally included the top players on the team. Co-existing would not be enough to implement the values he aspired to teach. Neither would working on an individual basis be sufficient. The teams of the late 1970's were outstanding in terms of results, but pushing Coach to respond to their challenges to the team culture is perhaps their most lasting impact on the following three decades of the team and its moral atmosphere.

Moving into the first half of the 1980's, Coach still lacked intentionality with his desire to create a moral community, and to educating from a group standpoint. But the data suggests he was beginning to understand, like Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989), that the individual moral development of team members was supremely influenced by the team's moral culture. Despite any lacking in intentionality on his part, the team community did advance to a higher stage in the first half of the 1980s. A key influence on this advancement was a top player who bought into Coach Wilkinson's philosophy and who had the respect of his teammates.

Institutional value of the early 1980s teams: "Now all of a sudden we had kind of our leader."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 3-*Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole.

Stage of Community: Stage 3-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations.

Fred was a freshman on the team when Oscar and Everett were seniors. Looking back at his early days on the team, Fred sees a community that was powered by these two top players. They befriended him, and had an important impact on his adjustment to college life. He admits that he looked up to them and that they helped him improve his game, and that they accomplished great things for the program. Fred pointed out, however, that they did not set a good tone for getting the group on the same page with Coach Wilkinson's values and approach:

> And it happens where a lot of that happens kind of behind the scenes. It wasn't necessarily all face-to-face with Wilk. But the behind the scenes stuff, they just didn't set a very good stage for listen to what's going on, pay attention, this guy knows what he is doing, whatever.

Fred saw a major shift take place within the team culture when Oscar and Everett graduated and Scotty ascended to the role of the team's top player. The team began to buy into and support Coach's teaching, and an improved culture followed. Fred described:

> Scotty came on board, and Scotty was incredible. He was the guy who was just a machine….He was a little bit like me in that he came from Fargo, didn't have a lot of teaching and coaching, had spent a couple of years in Montana not playing tennis. He might have played tennis, I am not sure. But he was a sponge, and he would hit on a ball machine two hours a day before practice and after practice. And the guy was just an unbelievably gifted athlete, but he was into it. And so he

> really kind of clung on everything that Wilk was offering to us and I think sort of changed the mentality of the team a little bit. He influenced Adrian and I think things sort of started to change. We also had the new group of guys that came in, Gary, Jasper, and Bruce, who was another guy from North Dakota who sort of was a little bit rebellious in certain ways, but really wanted to be a player. And that group of guys, I think Scotty was, he was like Wilk, just freaking unbelievable example of shut up, pay attention, do your deal, get your work done. So he went from kind of unrecognized hopeful to just crushing everybody at singles and doubles. The guy was just unstoppable. He was just a machine. So that really started changing because now all of a sudden we had kind of our leader, kind of the top of the food chain, as far as the team goes, was really adhering to the things and was really listening intently to everything and was trying everything that Wilk was trying to get us to do. I think that Scotty had just a huge impact on really allowing that whole philosophy to sort of take hold with the team.

With new leadership in place, the team continued to excel on the court. In 1982 they won the NCAA team championship. Scotty was the NCAA singles champion, and he and Adrian won the NCAA doubles title. The team also began to form into a better community with more and stronger collective norms. Rather than having a divided group in which some members of the team tried to pull others into their camp and away from what Coach was teaching, the team became a collection of members who worked to pull everyone on board. They were at Level 3 of institutional valuing. They were a "spontaneous community" that Kohlberg and colleagues (1989) describe as being "the

type of place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole" (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg 1989). Fred described this close-knit group that did not want to let each other down when it came to improving as players and of meeting the group's expectations for following coach's teaching and the team's collective norms:

> Like I said, just the guys who we were hanging out with, especially after Everett and Oscar left, that group became just extremely cohesive. I think we all felt a little pressure to kind of stay with what we were doing, a little peer pressure just to not let the other guys down. I can't think of that many instances of guys who didn't do it.…My recollection, except for that first year when I was a freshman, was that the guys were so on board as a group.

From Gary's perspective, the support that teammates showed for each other and the team, even when it meant that an individual's playing opportunities were compromised, demonstrated this closeness:

> But I ended up playing my roommate Jasper, who is playing on varsity and I was not playing anywhere near. But I ended up beating him in that tournament. And that was kind of a, you know, that was, that was probably a breakthrough. I mean I had beaten Jasper and I think I ended up going that year, this must have been sophomore year, I ended up going to the national tournament ahead of Jasper that year. I don't think he went. And we're roommates! And we never had one issue about it….And, you know that, that's really, you know, that, I guess, that's an example of, you know, the competitive spirit, but we both played well that day and I just got the upper hand….Yeah, but we never had a conflict over it. Even, I

> mean, that was sophomore year, and then we played two more years and just had great times.

The teams of the early 1980s also showed improvement in terms of Stage of Community (Power et al., 1989) from the teams of the1970s. They operated at Stage 3 in which the group is valued for the friendliness of its members, and the value of the group is equated with the value of collective norms (Power et al., 1989). Kohlberg and colleagues describe the community, at this third stage, as a family in which members care for each other. The teams of the early 1980s fit this mold. According to Fred:

> It was awesome. We hung out constantly together. We were just kind of a big, we were the tennis guys. We would always come in to dinner late because we practiced right up until kitchen closed at 6:30 or 7:00 or whatever it was, and we would finish practice just before and have to sprint over there to get in the door. And we would have breakfast together and we would hang out together. We just traveled together all the time and it was pretty much a full group. It wasn't really segregated to the top players and the middle group. There were three full teams at the time so probably 26, 20, 30 guys, I don't know. I don't even know how many guys there were. But we were all pretty close, hung out a lot together.

Gary found a similar family aspect to the community that the members of the 1970s teams did not describe. He said: "I mean it was a brotherhood for sure.…I'm not even quite sure how that all came together, but the end result was that we were all really, really good friends on and off the court."

The teams of the early 1980s describe themselves as a brotherhood centered on the program's norms in a way that the teams from the 1970s did not. A crucial difference,

however, between Wilkinson's teams of the 1970s and the early 1980s, is Coach Wilkinson's own involvement in creating a higher-level team community instead of simply a collection of very good tennis playing individuals. Both Gary and Fred described Coach Wilkinson's involvement in the team becoming a community with language the players of the early and late 1970s did not use. Fred says:

> But I mean we were just so close and we spent so much time together on tennis trips and practicing and training, and literally it was super open. And it was pretty cool because Wilk really encouraged that.…He could kind of see the strength in that, whatever. So the teams at the time were really close.

Gary saw Coach Wilkinson as somewhat of an outsider, but one who was facilitating the guys coming together as a spontaneous community:

> I mean we had a special group of guys, there's no doubt about it. And, you know, Wilk he, he, he was obviously a part of that. And, you know, but what was interesting was the group was, you know, close in school, and I'd say Wilk was kind of the outsider, but he was obviously very, very instrumental in keeping that group together. But we didn't realize, you know, the importance of what Wilk was doing 'til way, way later on down the road. And you know, and he continues as a guy that, you know, you just, you just, you know, you feel proud to be a Gustavus tennis member.

This move to being more active in keeping the group together, and better prioritizing the team becoming a community was an important step for Wilkinson in the 1980s. Scotty as the top player, and his buy-in to Coach Wilkinson's philosophy were key factors in this process. But Coach Wilkinson seems to have known that a strong team community in

which players were close enough to influence and make sacrifices for each other and influence each other was a key to an effective moral curriculum taking hold. In the second half of the 1980s this process gradually continued. Despite a key setback at the very end of the decade, the team continued to grow into a strong community with members who institutionally valued the team at a high level.

Institutional value of the late 1980s teams: "It was the ultimate team sport at Gustavus."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 3-*Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole.

Stage of Community: Stage 3-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations.

In the second half of the 1980s, Harmon was the key team leader. He originally came to Gustavus to play a different varsity sport. He had been an accomplished tennis player in his younger years, but played only during the high school season during his last few years of high school. When Wilkinson learned that he was coming to Gustavus, he encouraged Harmon to join the tennis team in addition to the playing his other sport. Harmon quickly became disappointed with the team culture in his primary sport. By contrast, he felt welcomed and comfortable in the tennis team culture. By January of his freshman year, he decided to leave the other in order to concentrate on tennis and, more importantly, to be a part of the tennis team community. He described his experience:

> You know, like I said, the guys all, you know, we played and competed and then broke bread and, you know, they made me feel really comfortable. I felt like I was

> part of a team. And they were just, you know, when you go off to college, it was my first time away from home. So, you know, they become, you know, sounds a little cliché, but almost like your family, your second family, or your siblings.…But to me, being part of the team was really important. I mean it was kind of my college experience, the Gustavus Tennis team. And those were the guys I spent the majority of my time with. And [I] didn't want to let them down. We had fun, we had some ups, and we all, we had our ups and downs. But, you know, there's a little expectation with that group on how you behaved and how you interact with each other.

Perry, who joined the team a few years after Harmon did, also described a community that institutionally valued the team at the Level 3 (spontaneous community), and showed some traces of being at Level 4 (normative community). Like the teams of the early 1980s, these late 1980s team members felt the team was a place of closeness that provided inner motivation to help each other and contribute to the group as a whole. They also began to value the community for its own sake and felt obligated to act in special ways and to uphold group norms because of their membership (Power et al., 1989). Perry's described his institutional value for the team:

> To be a teammate, a team member, as part of that brethren and that family, I would say that would be the top thing.…And being a good sport representing the team, representing the school, representing your fellow teammates, your brothers, and in a sense your family, the brotherhood of the family of the, of the team….I would be willing to, I would to this day, for any of my teammates, any member of the Gustavus family, I would lay it on the line for any of them.

Harmon and Perry's descriptions also show that the late 1980s team community operated at Stage 3 of community. Both frequently discuss the friendliness of the team's members, and describe the team as a family that cares for each other. For Harmon:

> It was this idea. It's an individual sport. But it, to me it was the ultimate team sport at Gustavus. And these were guys that we went out and practiced, but we're trying to make each other better. And in that, I mean, we all knew that. And so the on the court stuff, just the hard work, you know, that challenge matches weren't always fun but you ground them out, and you knew this is all good. And then the other stuff was the off court. For me, total eye opener. I mean I had these guys who are two years older than me invited me to play cards, invited me to have dinner, invited me to, you know, kind of showing me, and I am, you know 17th, 18th guy on the team. I am not any big recruited stud coming in to play tennis. It was more just to say, "You are part of the team, man. We want to make sure you're, okay. Have a place to hang out. Be yourself." For me that was really important. So, I mean, that, I saw them my first couple of years, and that was sort of, you know, the model, the role model I had when was a junior, senior trying to do the same thing.

Perry echoed Harmon's description of the brotherhood, and in fact, Perry recalled Harmon taking him to his family's home during a holiday break because Perry lived a long distance from Gustavus. He described its importance:

> You get to know guys, and they take you in. So that's where I think the openness and the camaraderie, overall family brotherhood, of the Gustavus program impacted me the most.…Me coming from out of state and Harmon being an upper

> classman, and very well respected by all of his teammates, I remember he, when we were getting ready for my freshman year spring break, and me being out of town, I didn't really have any place to go before or after we took our flight to Arizona at that time. He was very welcoming, offered up his home, his family did, allowing me to stay there with them over the Easter Break and so forth.

With the Gustavus teams of the late 1980s, the level of institutional value continued to rise from the level of the early 1980s. The community operated at the third stage, much like it had in the first half of the decade. In the latter stages of the second half of the 1980s, however, a key incident slowed this growing institutional value and rise in community stage. As I will describe in detail below when discussing collective norms, in 1988, some of the team's seniors broke a collectively held team norm and got intoxicated the night before the conference championships. Their play suffered as a result of this, and it led to the team not winning the conference title. According to Perry, the teammates of these seniors were embarrassed and devastated:

> We were representing the team. And we had played well. Coach Wilkinson had decided to split up, kind of, the team going into the conference meet, so he was going to play some of the guys who weren't on Varsity, some of the JV guys, either in doubles or lower singles, with the goal in mind of still winning conference, but getting extra practice and getting them experience for years to come. So the night before the conference meet, a couple of my teammates…went out drinking and unfortunately had too much to drink, got drunk and were not up to par the next day, and didn't perform up to the standards that they were accustomed to, and, of course, the team was accustomed to. Unfortunately we

> ended up losing conference that year, so I don't know, that was one of the, a rare blemish on Coach's record as far as conference victories, so, which is hard to top. You don't want to be on the team that represents that.

Certainly the data shows that teams prior to this one, and teams that came later all had members who drank alcohol in college and during the season. Some even consumed alcohol before matches. The key to the norm, as I describe below, was that this was never to occur before matches that "mattered" or would be closely contested by the members of the top team. The breaking of such an important and collective norm can be seen as evidence that the institutional valuing of the group, and its stage of community began to regress as the decade came to a close. Just as leaders positively influenced the team in terms of institutional value and stage of community at the beginning of the decade, leaders influenced regression in those categories at the end of the decade. However, it was a high level of valuing the community that allowed the team to move forward following the blunder. According to Perry:

> We were upset, and, you know. Obviously we want to win for ourselves and for the team, but by the same token the standards that had been set and had always been in place with Gustavus Tennis and represented Steve, the school and Steve, his program, I think it hurt for sure, most of us, if not all of us. I think in the background that they were apologetic to Coach Wilkinson talking with him down the road. And I think that things got worked out after that. So, nothing was, you know, no tempers. Nobody was yelling at each other, or you know, saying negative things towards each other or saying, "How could you do that?" Or, "You lost this for us," and this or that. We took it on. We basically took the loss as a

> team, and I think hopefully learned from it and tried to grow from it, teach the younger guys. Teach them moving forward how to represent the school and the team, and themselves for that matter. Because not only are you representing your school and your coach and your team, but you're representing yourselves as well.

Perry's assertion that the team took on the loss and did not outwardly blame the individuals, despite everyone on the team knowing that they were responsible, points to a community at the third stage, where members feel a closeness that provides motivation to serve each other and help the community as a whole (Power et al., 1989). The team would carry this incident moving forward as an example of what not to do, but it would be almost another full decade before the level of institutional value and stage of community would rise to unprecedented levels.

Throughout the latter half of the 1980s, Coach Wilkinson's focus on community continued. He sought to connect with the entire group so that he might better teach his philosophy to that group. One of his tactics was to work closely with team leaders in order to create a bridge between him and the team. Coach became more intentional with reaching out to leaders in order to feel the pulse of the team and build an environment more conducive for buy-in from all team members. Harmon was one these leaders. He recalled many of these conversations:

> I felt, it was, and remember, I think Wilk called me on it too. But I felt it was, by that time, my responsibility. And if I disagreed, you know, I would tell Wilk that too. Usually what Wilk would do back then, is he would kind of get my ear on an issue. Or go, "Hey, a guy has been doing this, so we've got this issue, what do you think?" So, there's a little bit of that communication beforehand.…But, you

> know, I developed, I didn't always agree with Wilk, you know, as many 21-year-olds didn't back then, on everything. But usually I did. And we kind of worked our way to some sort of going forward agreement on stuff like that.…That's the way it worked, I remember my last year, year-and-a-half. So, I felt like at least Wilk had my ear, I had his ear. I mean, if I had something, something was bubbling with the guys. I would say, "Hey, Wilk, here's what I think is going on. Give it some thought, maybe we can do this a little differently. Or do that a little different way."

Harmon and Perry both found this type of communication between Coach and the leaders of their era to be helpful for building the community and helping it move forward. Harmon recalled his teammates appreciating having him as a go-between:

> I think they knew that Wilk and I chatted. And we used to play a lot back then. My senior year, we played all the time. So, that was sort of our format. We'd maybe be doing early morning, set or two. Then just to chat about what was going on. Or I'd catch him after practice. So, I think most people knew that.…I think, I think they thought it was a pretty good method, to have a little bit of a filter there. So, even a player who, like Chris, you know, he and Wilk would just be so, yeah, Chris was so, kind of kookie crazy back then. But, to kind of a have a little mediator helped. And then Chris had some great points, sometimes, too. So, you know, and then Wilk, you know, could get very frustrated with him. So, there was a kind of two sides to that relationship. But that was the way to handle that. You know, some of the other guys, it's not like we have a ton of issues. But it was, you know, the ones we had, that's usually how it was handled. Or if Wilk said, "Hey,

you know we're going to do X," but everybody was like, "What?!" They'd say, "Hey, Harm, can you talk to him?"

This method of connecting with the community through leaders was not something that teams from the previous decade mentioned. There was a great deal of individual connection on the tennis court and around tennis playing, but the late 1980s brought a new sense of community as team members felt they could be in on conversations about how the team operated and handled important issues.

Institutional value of early 1990s teams: "Who are we? What are we trying to be here?"

Level of Institutional Value: Level 3-*Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole.

Stage of Community: Stage 3-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations.

Carmine was a freshman on the 1988 team. Even though he did not compete that year due to injury, he was around for the incident described above. It is difficult to determine if this incident in the late 1980s carried over into the sense of community felt by the players of the early 1990s. The teams of the early 1990s showed an understanding of Coach Wilkinson's teachings and a valuing of the community based on them in much the same way that the teams of the 1980s did. The teams of the early 1990s, however, describe less closeness among team members. Respect was prevalent and prioritized, but their responses show less evidence of a brotherhood. Despite the slight drop in the closeness of team members, the community they described remained at Level 3 of

institutional value (Power et al., 1989). According to Carmine: "I really felt as though people recognized the team atmosphere. People were, again, inclusive. People wanted to help each other and they knew that by doing that they were also helping themselves improve."

Barry also described his teams as being supportive, respectful, and the team as the type of environment in which teammates felt close enough to be motivated to help others and serve the community. This is another sign of Level 3 of institutional value (Power et al., 1989):

> Yeah, I mean I think the environment was there when I got there. But it was, "This is what we do." We are all getting better as a team, and you know, you move up and pass a junior—when you're a freshmen—it's good for you. You know, this is going to make the team better in the long run. And just being on the team it was a point of pride. And I think that's a really important piece to it, that everyone on that team is properly on the team. And because of that, the team goes, "We're always first." And of course I'm sure there's individual times, you know, when you get beat in a challenge match and you're frustrated or, but that's different than been upset to a point of, you know, not being happy for the team advancing. And so that, the pride I think that is immediately instilled about being on the team, allows that dynamic.

The teams of the early 1990s were also at Stage 3 in terms of stage of community. Again, it does not appear that their degree of closeness was that of the 1980s teams, but they were certainly close enough with each other to be forming collective normative

expectations, and to be a family in which members care for each other (Power et al., 1989). Carmine said,

> You know you were never made to feel like an outsider, but it would have been unusual for freshman and seniors to hang together. There would be the occasional tennis gathering and things like that where you're all together.…You know you're just, your time is limited. But I would say this, I know certainly as I got to meet more and more people throughout the year a lot of people were involved in fraternities and things like that. And I never ever felt like I needed to do that to find a group of friends. My friends were all my tennis people.

Similarly, Barry said:

> Within the team it was really good. I mean, it's not, I wouldn't say, we're best friends. I mean, obviously, you're always going to have a few people you're best friends with, and a few you're not. But there was never disrespect between teammates that I can ever remember. You know, there could be one player doesn't like another player as much and stuff. But the teammates were good, you know. And so, I think, that was always prevalent.…There, 100% was if you make, if you're on this team, you're part of this team. From the first day I walked into the practice there, and I really was kind of shocked by it, you know with 30 people or whatever on the team some years, to have that is pretty cool.

From Barry's perspective, the majority of his teammates were on board with Coach's philosophy of competition and sportsmanship. Yet he notes some challenging individuals who often pushed against Coach Wilkinson, the team, and its norms. He said:

> There is a strong, there is a strong desire within the team that got broken down a little bit in a few years, because of a few players when I was there. But it was obviously there that we want to win the right way, to compete the right way. And that means we are not going to cheat**,** we are not going to cheat. I mean it's that simple.

Barry saw the team as having a positive, if not entirely transformative, impact on these players. Early on in their careers, he described these players as extremely difficult to have as teammates because of their unsportsmanlike behavior. Yet when he was a team leader, Barry felt it was his responsibility to take action for the good of the team community, as team leaders before him had done:

> But now somebody is undermining on purpose. I dealt with that with Chester, and he was, he was one of those people just, you know. And I had conversations with him. Teammates would kind of, you know, because we talked to Wilk**.** They'd be, you know, if it, someone undermining what you're trying to accomplish and what Gustavus Tennis is, I think action by the team is to take it. During my time it was not always effective, because, and looking back at a lot of the stuff you can't, people are who they are, to a point, and so. But you know there was improvement on it too.

As in previous eras, the challenging individuals and situations lead Coach Wilkinson to further hone his own philosophy and his approach to creating a moral community so that he could educate through the group. In the 1980s he began having conversations with team leaders in order to handle specific instances. By the early 1990s, he was still having these conversations with team leaders such as Barry and Carmine, but the scope of the

conversations was evolving. Rather than solely discussing how to navigate a specific situation or individual, however, the conversations shifted to the meaning of Gustavus Tennis and what the team stood for. The question of "who are we as a team [community]" was now on the table for Coach Wilkinson and some players to discuss. Barry recalled:

> A lot of people had long conversations, a lot of conversations.…So, I remember Wilk talking to all us. It's a long time ago. So, I don't remember specifics. But I really feel like that was some of the start of trying to figure some of that stuff out. And then I do know. I mean, Peter and I had long conversations with him about, "Who are we? What are we trying to be here?" Are we, you know, we know what you represent, because we know you at TLC [Tennis and Life Camps]. We know you; this is not necessarily what we're showing every time on the court. And there were a lot of those conversations, and great conversations. I mean, great conversations where you realize as a college student, a lot of times you think, everyone thinks like you. And so, Wilk did a great job of making us understand as well that everyone is in a different place. And his ultimate goal was to help get people to a better place. And so, there's some conversations that really I thought were great, you know.

This was a pivotal increase in Coach Wilkinson's intention to educate morally. His message of focusing on things that were within our control had permeated each era to this point. In fact, Barry marveled at the consistency of message Coach provided:

> It's like, you know, Wilk is so consistent with message. And, so, I think that creates a shared experience. And so, all Gustavus Tennis alums have this kind of

> sickening connection, I think, to the outside. But it's because I think, you know, if you played for Wilk in '89 or '79 or '99, you all share, you know, what was taught. You know what approach was taken.

As the 1990s progressed, however, the message began to become the identity of the group itself. Players in the late 1990s had a strong sense of community based on Coach's principles and approach, and this, as much as playing great tennis and winning championships, became the basis for their relationships and the focus of their operations within the community.

Institutional value of late 1990s teams: "You're being taught how to behave as a family."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 3-*Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole. And Level 4-*Normative Community:* The team as a community is valued for its own sake. Community can obligate its members in special ways, and members can expect others to uphold group norms and responsibilities.

Stage of Community: Stage 3-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations. And Stage 4-The community is explicitly valued as an entity distinct from the relationships among members. Membership in the community is understood in terms of entering into a social contract to respect the norms and ideals of the group

In the second half of the 1990's the teams were at Level 3 of institutionally valuing the community, and at the third stage of community—like the teams of the early

1990s, but with the closeness of relationships and friendships that the teams of the 1980s displayed. Khalid continually described his group as being very close, and a team-first community, despite the individual nature of tennis. He said:

> ’Cause I've seen it by example from other upperclassmen. I've seen the tight-knit family. Everybody cares for each other. The culture that Steve has built in that program to, you know, be nurturing and care for each other, and you know just not be a “me” guy. I know, maybe myself, there are times when I was probably coming across as a “me” guy and was being selfish, you know, you really didn't think of it at that time. And then Gustavus just, the tennis program that would do just a good job of, “hey it’s about being a big team.” They always have big team, big team, we want to be a big team. And because I probably at times found myself, “Oh I'm being a little selfish here.” All right, let’s get back to what matters. And guys would bring you back to reality, like, “Hey this is about the team.” So there’s that balance, I feel like. You know it’s an individual sport at times, and then there’s team. You want to do really well as an individual, but you have this group of guys that love Coach.…You want your team to do well, but for your team to do well, you’ve got to focus on yourself and be selfish sometimes. It’s, it’s tricky. So, but in the end, you’re expected to help your teammates out and there was that expectation. Even off of the court. So I mean guys were helped off of the court whether it was talking about girl problems or, you know, parents are getting divorced and they're down in the dumps. Be there for that guy.

The closeness of this group certainly led them to help one another and serve the community. These are key characteristics of Level 3 of institutional value (Power et al.,

1989). The sense of community for Khalid's teams was based on family-like relationships, as is the case at Stage 3 of community (Power et al., 1989). Khalid also described a team that was built around Coach Wilkinson's principle of putting character ahead of winning, as well as working and striving very hard to be excellent as tennis players. Khalid and his teammates had a clear understanding that this was a major part of his team's identity. By the late 1990s, Coach Wilkinson became even more intentional in presenting and working toward an established identity of a moral community. Khalid's words are evidence of this development:

> Just the importance of the tradition there and the history of, you know, guys, as they get older, they fit into the leadership roles and continue to pave the way for the younger guys, you know, and just having some strong leaders and strong role models, and you know, start at the top with Coach Steve Wilkinson, and he wasn't going to let any of that hogwash get through, any of the stupid stuff out on the court to sacrifice winning. Yeah, Steve liked to win, but more important, the stories that he told are the guy's character and you know individuals, this person's doing that and so yeah getting some horses that can just be good leaders and continuing to build that, that nucleus of a strong team. That's first and foremost, and then that permeates to guys wanting to be better individuals. That was the quote I zeroed in there, right? "We are all our own individual drops of rain, but together we're an ocean." That kind of sums up Gustavus Tennis, in a way.

From the end of Khalid's time on the team to the beginning of Lawrence's time (they overlapped for two years in the late 1990s), the team community became even stronger. By the end of Lawrence's career, the team community had grown to the highest levels of

Institutional Value and Stage of Community. Power et al. (1989) describe the fourth level of Institutional Value as a "normative community" in which the community is valued for its own sake; it can obligate its members in special ways, and members can expect others to uphold group norms and responsibilities. Lawrence described this:

> Maybe I'm a little strong on the family angle, but that's the best way that I liken it, kind of a brotherhood. I felt like everyone had each other's back, which is not something that you always feel in a team environment. Kind of through thick or thin, that team was going to be sticking with you and backing you up. That's something that's unique, and I think it's developed over time, certainly, but the fact that people want to spend time together, it starts with that first initial meeting, where you're being taught how to behave as a family and how to welcome folks in, in a way that makes them feel a part of something, and makes them feel like they're charging towards one goal. Breeds that sense of a family and unites folks.

It is important to note that from the start of his time on the team, Lawrence was aware that he was being taught how to be a part of the community—not just how to play great tennis. Lawrence continually described the team acting as a strong community as leaders take in Coach's message and example, and combine it with their strong relationships. This creates the normative community that Kohlberg and colleagues describe. Lawrence recalled:

> Wilk. He led the way, and he lives that out, and you see that and you learn from that. It's not like there's this kind of lip service, it's like "Alright, here are the rules." He definitely lives that out and that hammers it home much more. But I do think that the team takes on its own sense of ownership of that, and develops and

> cultivates that in there. I don't know if I want to say their own spin, but it makes it their own. That's a part of becoming a team and bonding together, you take the lessons and you build your family on the foundation on those lessons.

This combination of teachings, Coach Wilkinson and the players, is the type of mix that Power et al. (1989) describe at the fourth stage of community. Members perceive the community as an organic whole composed of interrelated systems that carry on the functioning of the group, and members enter into a social contract to represent the group's norms and ideals. According to Lawrence, actions that are contrary to the group's norms and ideals were extremely rare for his teams. They understood the norms and acted on them because the community became a part of their identity and letting teammates down was not an option. He recalled:

> I don't want to say the same thing again, but that's the commitment that you make to each other, I think. Ultimately, that you're going to be prepared, you're doing everything you can for the sake of the team, and that you want to do that. It's almost like, it becomes unwritten or unsaid because you don't want to let the other guys down. It becomes part of who you are, in a sense, because you would never risk it. That's just not something that really even enters into the equation. How you get there, it's, again, from the ground up, from Wilk to building your own set of self-policing values and principles and everything else, and living that, potentially walk through multiple years on the team with different teams, and ultimately seeing that through.

By the end of the 1990s, Coach and the team members had created a community with the highest level of institutional value that functioned at the highest stage of community to

date. As I will describe in the collective norms section, this translated into high levels of degree of collectiveness and phases of collective norms (Power et al., 1989). Team members strongly identified with the group and its norms, and were inspired to uphold them because of their membership in the group. The team was together, and there were very few incidents of individuals acting contrary to the norms and goals of the team, or in trying to influence others away from the team's norms, as had been seen in the late 1970s. The close and motivating relationships of the 1980s along with Coach's more intentional focus on creating the community in the early 1990s blended together in the late 1990s to take the community aspect of the program to a new height. Moving into the early 2000s, the interviewees, who were also team leaders during latter stages of their careers, spoke of a community that remained at this high level, in terms of institutional value, because it was the type of community they found when they entered the program.

Institutional value of early 2000s teams: "A team is not just a group of players on the court…"

Level of Institutional Value: Level 4-*Normative Community:* The team as a community is valued for its own sake. Community can obligate its members in special ways, and members can expect others to uphold group norms and responsibilities.

Stage of Community: Stage 4-The community is explicitly valued as an entity distinct from the relationships among members. Membership in the community is understood in terms of entering into a social contract to respect the norms and ideals of the group.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Coach Wilkinson's intentional delivering of a moral curriculum took shape and the community's level of institutional value began to rise. Coach Wilkinson's philosophy of focusing on things within one's control and

competing with the highest standard of sportsmanship became the identity of the program. Team members upheld it and taught others to do the same. The team had become a community that involved close relationships among members, and adopted and strove to act on the philosophy. Igor recalled the closeness of the team members and the influence of those team leaders when he arrived:

> I also was really impressed with the camaraderie of the team from top to bottom. So players that were playing at the top level of the team on the varsity team were interacting and great friends with players that were playing on sort of the junior varsity, so to speak. But that was something that really struck me. The other thing that I noticed so when I came to Gustavus was, I was part of a group of several freshmen that were coming in, which I think was somewhat unique. We had a large freshmen class that year from lots of different backgrounds, lots of different states, all with the common background [of] having some successes as junior and high school players and we were, I felt like we were very welcomed by the upperclassmen at that time, which was something that was important to me and I think important to my teammates, as we were trying to find our own niche on the team, trying to fit in.

Albert, also of the early 2000s, spoke to the importance of the large community aspect of the program:

> I'd say more than individual friendships. I just say the thing that just sticks out to me—and then I keep saying to the team at least once every year now—is how lucky we are to have a huge team. And I loved being on a team of, it was probably an average, about 30 guys per year. And I just loved that. And I see teams now

> where most teams are eight to ten guys. And it just looks like so much less of a great experience with them, than having 30.…But on a team of 30, I was around with them every single day. And there are just awesome people. And I still talk to them constantly now. So, I think, overall just the size of the team is the coolest thing.

Like the teams of the late 1990s, the teams of the early 2000s operated with at the highest level of institutional value and stage of community. Like Lawrence before them, Igor and Albert describe the team functioning as an entity distinct from the relationships of its members—a hallmark of a Stage 4 Community (Power et al., 1989). Igor recalled:

> I was really impressed with how we all treated each other. I think that really helped to teach me the value of a team. A team is not just a group of players on the court or on the field. It's a group that functions off the field and off the court as well too. And some of the, I think upper classmen and captains, older members of the team on the team, helped to facilitate that.

Albert echoed:

> I think we interacted great. We hung out together off the court all the time. Everyone, as far as I remember, was always invited. And I don't remember anybody who, for the most part, didn't want to take part in the things we did as a team, often, you know, outside of practice as well. So, I think from all my memories everyone interacted great and most times we were very respectful of each other and had a great time together.…I'm very proud of it. More than anything, I'm proud of it because the way we compete, not every college tennis team, I think, should be proud of the way that they compete. The Gustavus team,

> from the time I was there 'til now, as long as I've ever seen them, they're expected to compete in a really positive fashion, and that's the way they're coached.…I really feel pretty lucky to get, to get to be a part of the whole program.

In addition to treating each other well, the team held members accountable for living out its norms. Igor was committed to living the philosophy as a result of his membership in the group, and he believed that leaders were responsible for helping other team members do the same—for the sake of the community. He describes this here:

> I think that question also gets back to the Three Crowns of Gustavus Tennis that I had mentioned earlier. And so getting back to those things like full effort, staying positive, and being a good sport…things that I felt I expected of my teammates, I was trying to do those things, and then I also expected those things in my teammates and you know it's important. I felt it was important, that I think that we, if we as teammates saw a teammate that was not necessarily living up to those expectations and we would try to call them out on it at least and address it because I think there are times when, that things can detract from the, can detract from the team. So, we not only had expectations, but if we felt, you know, as sort of team leaders that a player was not living up to those expectations, that it was important to try to address that and try to help them through that, with the ultimate goal of helping the team.

Igor's response describes a team that was aware of helping both individuals while improving the team community's moral culture—the ultimate goal of moral education through moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989). This was also the period of time in which

the team's philosophy was encapsulated with a new phrase. Since the 1980s, Coach had stressed the importance of players giving full effort, choosing a positive attitude, and competing with the highest standard of sportsmanship while letting go of things outside one's control. In a team goal-setting meeting in the early 2000s, the team began calling these values the Three Crowns. Since that time, Coach and team members have been intentional in naming the Three Crowns as a symbol of the team's primary values. According to Albert:

> I'd say the most important thing, I mean, the key with the Three Crowns is just understanding what you control.…And it's just a huge thing not just in tennis, but in life and in dealing with people and relationships and what not. It's when you focus on things that you have no control over it's incredibly frustrating, you know. Without Gustavus I don't think I ever maybe would've recognized the difference between those things that you have total control over and things you don't. And it's really life changing to be able to quickly recognize in all the different situations in life, whether or not you have control over that situation, and what you can do about it. You know, getting past it if you don't have control over it.…It was just that atmosphere of the team hammering it home over and over and over and over again and being able to realize that telling myself I had to win did not help me win. It didn't help me play better. And I just I had really exciting results in college and really disappointing results in college. And when I handled those disappointing results well I got better and life was better. It was just, it had been made clear through four years of college that this was about a better philosophy to practice.

By the end of the early 2000s the team had named and fully adopted the Three Crowns. They were a close-knit, family-like community that was functioning with the highest level of institutional value and stage of community. Individual members were improving their ability to handle moral dilemmas related to tennis (described in the collective norms section) as a result of their membership in the team community. In the late 2000s, however, the team's institutional value and stage of community declined from these highest levels.

Institutional value of late 2000s teams: "It's a lot harder…if you got one cowboy operating alone."

Level of Institutional Value: Level 2-*Enthusiastic Identification:* The team is valued intrinsically at special moments when members feel an intense sense of identification with the team (e.g. when the team wins an important contest). And Level 3-*Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole.

Stage of Community: Stage 2-There is no clear sense of community apart from exchanges among group members. And Stage 3-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations.

In the late 2000s, the team's institutional value regressed back to Levels 2 and 3. The team's stage of community also fell to Stages 2 and 3. The primary reason for these regressions is that the leaders of the team, and many team members, including some top players, were not on board with the Three Crowns philosophy. Despite this, the team was certainly a collection of extremely close relationships according to Judd:

> I feel like anybody was, everybody treated each other very, like they're best friends. You know, it's kind of like, I was never in fraternity or anything, but it was kind of like, how I assume a fraternity would run. You know, keep taking care of each other. You eat your dinners together. You are, you basically are a family when you're in college. And it was pretty unbelievable that all those people were in that fraternity. There were so many of us and yet we could have it that way.

Judd's valuing of the team community was based on the closeness of the members, not on the normative expectations or the ideals of the group. He pointed to a disconnect between the team community and the team philosophy:

> And I think that's separate, the Gustavus philosophy of competition, and the Gustavus team environment.…I think that those are very different things. Like, I feel like to me the, how you approach and opponents in your match is different than how you, the Gustavus team environment. At least it was for me. I do and I want, I want to be there and help my teammates succeed in any way, shape and form. I don't feel the same way about my opponent. And whether that's wrong of me, I have a distinction between those two.

Judd's team had the feel of a family that took care of each other (Stage 3 community), but was lacking when it came to upholding the program's ideals for which previous teams had stood. He describes the poor on-court behavior of Nigel, a top player on his teams, and the reaction of his teammates:

> One with Nigel, against the other coach is like, Nigel is spitting in his direction. And, like, just pacing around the court, like a friggin' enraged bull, and like

> stomping and spitting near the coach. And people just, you know, like they hear that and are like, "Oh, my gosh. I can't believe Gustavus, a Gustavus guy would do that." Well, I think it was hard. Because he was our best player. And, you know, you need him to win. And people talked to him about it. I know George, one of the players, they are of the same age, which I think is important…would go up and would say, like, "What are you doing man?" You know, like, and Nigel would rationally say to George, "You know, I need this to play my best. I need this to play my best. That is how I win." And he'd keep, it's really tough, and to argue with that when it is the win you need, and he is your best player. And he, and at least he said, "I don't know how to win any other way. Like I can't get myself up for the match any other way." I remember that, that was his response at those times.…He was in his world during matches.

Nigel, also from the late 2000s, played on teams that bordered on Levels 2 (Enthusiastic Identification) and 3 (Spontaneous Community) in terms of institutional value (Power et al., 1989). At Level 2, the team is valued at moments when members feel an intense connection, after an important win, for example. At Level 3, the team feels closeness to others and a motivation to help each other. The teams Nigel described are a team at a combination of these stages (shown as being at Level 2.5 in Figure 1). Nigel says,

> We got along pretty well. You know, we had kind of a motley crew I would say too.…But I feel like maybe that we had a little, more little cliques.…But I am not sure that we quite have the off-court chemistry that some of the other crews did, at least from what I understand or what I have heard of that. On court, I think we had pretty good chemistry.…So I think that what I am saying is I think those

> cliques, these guys party really hard, I was one of them.…I don't think that was necessarily helpful. I think it was a net detriment to our team.…I should say with all the sort of, and we did, we had a lot of turmoil, we did really well. I think we finished, like, third my first year, something like that. And fourth my second year. We did well, and we won almost all the time. We just lost in the end, in the NCAA. We had really good teams.

Nigel shows exceptional understanding of the team's philosophy, Coach Wilkinson's approach to competition, and the reasoning for this approach. Yet he often rejected the philosophy and any sense of upholding it based on his membership on the team. He attributes this rejection to his alcoholism during college, and his belief that the philosophy, at times, prevented him from gaining a competitive edge he felt he needed in order to win. His goal was to get the team to improve its fitness so that they might compete better later in the season and in the NCAA championships when the temperature increased and the physical demands of competing were greater. He notes the struggles Coach Wilkinson had in getting team members to buy into the philosophy needed for the community to function at a higher level and that he, himself, encountered in trying to get the team to improve its fitness. He added:

> Man, I mean that's, you are striking at the heart of what I felt like I couldn't do while I was in there, and on the other side of what Wilkinson couldn't get me to do. And I feel like neither one of us could get our message across to the rest of our teammates. I think just three years before, or two years before, Tony and Albert, and before them, you guys, were able to do probably better. And yet we all had really good teams, as far as results on the court anyway. But I think you

> got to have a good team apart from that guy. I think you got to have good communication, and be able first to meet collectively with your group, you know, come together as a team with or without the Coach. You know the coach's perspective, I think you know what Wilk wants you, as a unit, to do. And that's to try to get guys on board. And so you need to meet with them and get a plan, an approach and, you know, let's assume because I think it's easier, that he's playing, and you meet with him and say "Hey, man, these are our goals, this is what we are trying to do, this is our identity and we want you to be on board. We need you on board, for our goals to become real. And will you join us? Can we get you to join us?" And hopefully that works, but I think it's a lot harder if you are just, if you got one cowboy operating alone.

Nigel's understanding that "one cowboy" will have difficulty in getting team members to adopt and uphold collective norms speaks to the importance of institutional value as a key component of moral atmosphere. Coach Wilkinson and the leaders of Nigel's teams had trouble creating a community that obligated members to uphold group norms. Group members were close with each other in some cases, but the "team chemistry" was used mostly in the name of winning, and not for the upholding of team norms. Without a normative community, the actions of key individuals took precedence over commitment to the team community and its ideals.

While this is the way the community operated in the late 2000s, Coach Wilkinson's philosophy had not changed, nor did he become less clear about it than he had been in the previous era. The community, however, regressed in terms of its institutional value level and stage of community because key members were not

committed to upholding the team's identity. Essentially, they valued their membership in the team less in terms of what the team stood for (even though they still valued relationships within the team) than the teams of the previous era. According to Power et al. (1989), institutional value and collective norms are closely related. Below is a description of how this decrease in institutional value in the late 2000s is correlated with lower levels in the degree of collectiveness and phase of collective team norms in that era.

Assessing Collective Norms

To answer research question 1b (How do team members understand the collective team norms (Power et al., 1989), as a result of their team membership?), I examined responses from each interviewee on a series of questions and program specific dilemmas in the interview guide (Appendix H) designed to allow the alumni to speak about the program's collective norms during their time on the team. I examined every interview transcript and pulled out all partial or complete responses to any question or probe from each transcript that was related to any of the collective norms from a particular era. I then assessed the degree of collectiveness, type of norm, phase of norm, and stage of norm (Power et al., 1989) for each of the 16 collective norms of the program in each half-decade. The complete results are discussed in detail in the sections that follow and are presented in Tables 3-10 below.

Overview of the norms: The concept of the collective norm is the second key component of the moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989). As described in detail in Chapter Three, Kohlberg and colleagues assessed the collective norms of communities in terms of their *degree of collectiveness, phase, type or content*, and *collective stage*

(Power et al., 1989). The collective norms of the Gustavus men's tennis program from 1970-2009 were assessed using the same measures.

The 16 norms arrived at inductively by the process described in Chapter Three were used to assess the moral atmosphere of the teams in each time period (era). These norms, their content, and two to three exemplar quotes are listed in Table 2 below. These quotes represent the types of passages that were used to inductively identify norms and to code them according the measures of Power et al. (1989).

Table 2

16 Collective Norms of The Gustavus Men's Tennis Program from 1970-2009

Norm	Content	Exemplar Quotes
Full Effort	Order	"…those key things that Wilk preached I mean effort…We were focused more on our efforts." "We worked our tails off. We practiced hard… Gave it your best at all times."
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	"We didn't' argue calls. We didn't call for line judges." "You don't question line calls. You don't bitch and moan…" "What's expected…the philosophy Steve has always tried to preach is: you don't challenge other people's line calls."
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	"…in a match if a racket flew, that was a problem." "…we can't let the racket fly."
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	"…one thing that was pretty neat…there was no segregation." "…if you're on this team, you're part of this team from the first day."

Norm	Content	Exemplar Quotes
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	"They just made you feel right at home from the get go when you first got there." "…I'm probably one of the leaders on the team, and want to make sure these guys were comfortable." "…we were very welcomed by the upper classmen at that time…"
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	"The best trait from team members… was…being supportive when somebody was out competing." "If there was someone left on the court, we're all still there."
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	"It's a family…you try to take care of these individuals, family members, brothers to the best of your ability." "…keep taking care of each other. You basically are a family."
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	"And also respecting our opponents…" "You play hard. You respect your opponent. You beat him fair and square or you lose fair and square. You shake hands when you're done." "Sportsmanship is at the top…in Gustavus tennis, so win or lose, you treat your opponent with respect."
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	"I'll use the phrase, 'played the right way.'" "…we want to win the right way, to compete the right way."
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	"…what you control is preparing yourself for the next point." "Move on and try and win that point… Leave things that aren't in your control."
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	"So if there was anything that people needed or needed help with, they would do that." "You're expected to help your teammates out…Even off of the court."

Norm	Content	Exemplar Quotes
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	"I would overrule my partner and play on… It was very clear. We talked about it all the time." "…as a member of Gustavus…if I saw it in…I would overrule my partner."
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	"We could get away with it. And the really big important matches, we didn't do that." "If there was ever a big match for the team, none of that would be tolerated in any way. And everybody understands and knows that."
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	"My take would be that to get him as a team, if I was an upper classman and representing the team, I would try get him involved, to support him…all not just at practice… Get him involved so he can make some friends and start to feel a little bit more a part of the group." "…but if we felt…as team leaders that a player was not living up to those expectation, it was important to try to address that and try to help them through that…with the ultimate goal of helping the team."
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	"this goes back to the thing that Wilk preached a lot was to control the things you can control and let go of the things you can't." "…the serenity prayer, so you know having the ability to accept the things that we can't control in life and having the strength to try to change the things that we can and the also the wisdom to know the difference between the two things."
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	"…we hung out together off the court all the time. Everyone…was always invited." "It was awesome. We hung out constantly together…We were the tennis guys."

The analysis of each half-decade that follows includes a table with each norm in terms of Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) four measures based on the interviewees' understanding and description of the norms. The key norms for each era are described

and discussed. Finally, the important characteristics of those teams and Coach Wilkinson's approach with them that combined to impact the team members' understanding of the norms are examined.

Collective norms of the early 1970s: "I don't think that any of us were that, sort of, evolved in integrity and sportsmanship." In the early 1970s, when the institutional value and stage of community were at Level 1 and Stage 1, the team's norms lacked collectiveness. The norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 3.

Table 3

Collective Norms of the Early 1970s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	4) I—Individual	0	L I : S 2
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	4) I—Individual	0	L I : S 1
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	2	L I : S 1
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	2) I—Conscience	0	L I : S 1
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	7) Authority: Acceptance	4	L I : S 1 & 2
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	7) Authority: Acceptance	2	L I : S 1 & 2
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	9) I and They	3	L I : S 2
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	4) I—Individual	2	L I : S 1
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	9) I and They	5	L I : S 1 & 2
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	3	L I : S 1

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	4) I—Individual	1	L I : S 1 & 2
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1

Eleven norms were at degrees three, four, and five of collectiveness. These levels represent individual-based norms. Only the norms of focusing on the next point following a perceived bad line call and overruling a doubles partner's line call reached Degree 9, but still are not considered "collective" based on Kohlberg and colleagues' scale (Power et al., 1989). The phases of the norms were the lowest of any era in Coach Wilkinson's 39 years as head coach. Only the norms of respecting opponents and overruling a doubles partner's incorrect call reached Phase 4 or 5, the phases where the norm is an expectation for behavior. In the case of every other norm, there was no expectation for behavior based on team membership. Duane described that most players had individual expectations for themselves, but that there was no attempt at making them collective:

> Well you just kind of felt it inside, I mean I don't know what you do differently. I mean you can't watch this happening playing a match, you know.…Hopefully the line calls are right. It's just something that's inside you, you know, I don't, I can't honestly say people acted differently once Wilk was coach. You know I don't think I treated my opponent any differently.…Well, its honesty. I mean that's the first thing, whether you're a Gustavus player or not.

In describing his and the team's approach to questioning opponents' line calls, Morris said:

> I don't think, you know, I would even thought about the Gustavus, you know, everything. I would have…marched right up to the net, you know, pointing at a mark, you know, arguing my point and, you know, pleading my case. I mean, I would not have had maturity to keep my cool, you know, whatever. I would have been making accusations…I don't think that any of us were that, sort of, evolved in integrity and sportsmanship that I see you guys have you know. I think we were sort of, you know, just looking out for ourselves type of thing. You know thinking, you know, "Did they cheat us? If they call them close, we're going to call them close."

These comments are representative of the collective stage of most norms for these early 1970s teams. As seen in Table 3, they collectively reasoned exclusively at Level I, the Pre-conventional level (Power et al., 1989). The stages of reasoning were split between Stage 1 where egocentric reasoning that does not consider the interest of others, and Stage 2 where rules are followed for one's own immediate interest and right and wrong is determined by fair and equal exchange (Power et al., 1989).

This low stage for all of the norms of the early 1970s is further evidence that Coach's intentional creation of a moral community was not a priority during that time period. Morris and Duane both noted that he was also a full-time professor in the religion department at the time, and so the team was not his primary occupational focus. While they describe his tennis knowledge as far exceeding that which any previous Gustavus coach, or and almost all regional collegiate coaches had to offer, they describe him helping them improve their tennis, but not their team unity or moral atmosphere.

Coach Wilkinson was playing competitively in the early 1970s and was a better player than any of the team members of that era. He provided a positive example for the team member on how to compete, make fair line calls and treat opponents. He also had some discussions with players—Morris included—who made excuses and thereby put down opponents. Yet Coach Wilkinson was still handling the behavioral issues of team members on an individual basis, and set few expectations for behavior based on Gustavus team membership. In the second half of the 1970s, challenging and bold team members such as Oscar and Everett, who were attracted to Gustavus because of the success that the teams of the early 1970s had achieved, would provide experiences that eventually pushed Coach to adjust his coaching goals and his process for teaching values.

Collective Norms of the late 1970s: "But there was no feeling like 'Oh yeah, I just misrepresented school or the team.'" In the second half of the 1970s, the team's institutional value and stage of community improved to Level 2 and Stage 2 respectively. The team began to have, for the first time, some sense of group identity and commitment to certain norms based on this identity. The norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 4.

Table 4

Collective Norms of the Late 1970s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L I : S 2
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	6) Authority	5	L I : S 2
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	6) Authority	3	L I : S 2
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	9) I and They	3	L I : S 2

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	3) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L I : S 2
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	3	L I : S 2
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	9) I and They	4	L I : S 2
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L I : S 2
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	7) Authority: Acceptance	4	L I : S 2
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	2	L I : S 1 & 2
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	11) Spontaneous Collective	6	L I : S 2
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	9) I and They	4	L I : S 2
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	11) Spontaneous Collective	6	L I : S 2
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	2	L I : S 2

Oscar and Everett, both key members and leaders of the highly successful late 1970s teams, took pride in elevating their team's winning culture. Oscar recalls: "We had a totally different mentality, we were, we wanted to win and we just we wanted to win championships." Yet they were not on board with the manner in which Coach Wilkinson wanted them to behave, or in terms of creating a team community committed to each other for the purpose of anything beyond winning. Their understanding of their team's collective norms matches these characteristics. As seen in Table 4, their four highest norms, in terms of both degree of collectiveness and phase, are: giving full effort, supporting teammates who are on court competing; competing and winning the "right

way," and the magnitude of the upcoming match determining the tolerance for drinking the night before. Each of these norms is closely related to on-court performance and winning tennis matches. These were the norms they understood their teams to hold most collectively, and the ones that these teams both expected and upheld. Oscar describes their commitment to full effort:

> Effort. Effort, like if we thought somebody was being lazy or, you know, or something like that, but again I just can't remember, remember times when that ever happened, because you know, that just, guys didn't, guys, I mean, all the guys worked hard.

For Everett, "the great and the best trait from team members, I think, was just trying our best and being supportive when somebody was out competing.…Yeah, the team was very supportive."

Winning the right way was also important to the teams of the late 1970s. It was both a collective norm (Degree 13), and an expectation for behavior at Phase 6. Everett said: "I just, you know, I don't know for sure other than that you just don't cheat. You know, I mean it's, if you win by cheating, it's a hollow victory. You know that." Oscar agreed that their teams would not cheat to win: "You know, certain coaches…would believe in that, if you cheat me, I'll cheat you back, you know.…But it wasn't our way. You just didn't do it. Never have. So nobody on our team ever did it either."

Conversely, the norms that were least collective, and that carried the least amount of expectation for these teams, were norms that had to do with how the team behaved during competition, and how team members treated one another. Oscar and Everett's remarks show a low degree of collectiveness (Degree 6) for both questioning line calls

and throwing racquets in frustration. On welcoming new team members, treating teammates like brothers, helping each other with off-court or non-tennis issues, and hanging out together away from tennis, the degree of collectiveness was even lower at Degree 5. Thus these norms were all individual-based norms according to Power et al. (1989). Of these six norms with a Degree of collectiveness of 5 or 6, only not questioning line calls carried an expectation for behavior (Phase 5). The rest of these norms were at Phase 4 or lower. Oscar describes the norm of not throwing the racquet being present because of Coach Wilkinson's expectation. It was not, however, collectively held or expected by the team:

> Zero. I, I crashed my racquet a million times, no repercussions, no, nobody cared.…I had a Head Pro. I think I smashed it on a net-post and then I would keep playing with it, because it's bent. Or I'd throw it into the hill, or I would bang the ball. You know different things like that.…But there was no feeling like "Oh yeah, I just misrepresented school or the team..." Wilk, I think he, yeah, he wanted you to be under control, absolutely. But he didn't know how to make us do it. And he didn't back it up. We weren't afraid of him. You know, we, again, I mean, again some of the guys on the team, he could talk to them. And they would totally get it. Well, that didn't work for us.

Similarly, Oscar and Everett did not perceive spending time with each other away from tennis to be an ingredient necessary for on-court success in the same way giving full effort was so. Therefore, they neither held it as a collective norm, nor expected it from their teammates. Oscar said:

> Our team, I don't know, it wasn't that close. Nobody hung out together. We didn't have, like, your team dinners. None of that stuff. Everett and I had a couple of, of other guys that were, we hung out with a little bit but that was about it. We, it wasn't the type of atmosphere that I would think would be there now. But I don't think that's, I didn't think it was bad.

In terms of the collective stage of the norms of the early 1970s, they reasoned, like their predecessors, predominantly at Stage I, the Pre-conventional Level. The notable exception, however, is that their reasoning jumps from Level I to Level II, Stage 3 (the Conventional Level), on the norm of avoiding drinking prior to important matches. This was their only norm to reach Degree 15, the highest degree of collectiveness. Everett describes multiple occasions where he and other teammates partied prior to matches, but never prior to matches that mattered for the team, or that they perceived would be closely contested. He talked about this experience:

> But you know we could get away with it. And the really big important matches, we didn't do that. But when we were over in Wisconsin, we knew we were going to kick these guys' asses. So, we said let's go out and have some fun. You know, and at districts. It was pretty much down to our team. And I knew I was going to win. And you know, we knew we'd win in doubles and, we just kind of, we just we were that confident. Now I know we could've lost, but we didn't believe we would. And I don't think, I think you'd also have to say if you would ask them, I don't think anybody would ever say that we ever did anything like that and then let the team down.…If we had and then let the team down, then we would have policed ourselves. We would've said, "This is bullshit. We can't keep doing this."

> Because we wanted to win. You know, at the end of the day, even though we look at it different, the team wanted to win. But there were no confrontations. Wilk kind of let it go.

Everett's assertion that partying that cost the team victories would have been letting the team down indicates reasoning based on living up to expectations of group members, a characteristic of Level II and Stage 3. This was the only norm that revolved around not letting the team (and its winning goals) down. Most of their reasoning was at Level I, Stages 1 and 2—based primarily on serving their own needs and interests rather than that of the group (Power et al., 1989).

Coach Wilkinson struggled to get all of the team members on the same page in the late 1970s. He was beginning to develop standards for behavior in response to the tempers and actions that Everett, Oscar, and others often showed. He had hoped that they would be mature enough to meet those expectations. Unfortunately, they were not, and these behavioral norms were not collective for their teams. However, the teams of the late 1970s did begin to have collective norms and expectations based on the norms for some behaviors related to winning and playing well, and these were the key areas in which they excelled. They won the program's first NCAA team championship in 1980. As the program moved into the early 1980s, perhaps as a reaction to the somewhat divided team of the late 1970s and also in response to recognizing that team commitment to norms such as giving full effort and supporting teammates during on-court competition led to team expectations and positive behaviors, Coach Wilkinson began to prioritize a more team-oriented culture. Where Oscar and Everett perceived his professional attention to be divided (e.g., during their time on the team Coach Wilkinson began his transition from a

full time professor and coach to creating TLC and coaching) the members of the early 1980s teams perceived him as promoting a team culture centered on a combination of playing excellent tennis and behaving in a sportsmanlike manner.

Collective Norms of the early 1980s: "…We didn't hate our opponents. We were focused more on our efforts…" The ascension of Scotty, a player who fully subscribed to Coach Wilkinson's approach, to a top position in the lineup and a position of leadership, played a crucial role in getting the team on board and committed to a set of norms that were in line with Coach's values. These norms became the identity of the early 1980s teams. The result was a drastic rise in degree of collectiveness and phase of the norms in the early 1980s from the degrees and phases of the late 1970s. The norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 5.

Table 5

Collective Norms of the Early 1980s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	2) I—No Awareness	0	L I : S 1
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	9) I and They	4	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3

As seen in Table 5, 14 of the 16 norms were in the collective norm range with degrees of collectiveness between 13 and 15. Each of these 14 norms was at Phase 6, and behavior based on the norm was both expected and upheld. The teams of the early 1980s frequently used "we" language in describing themselves as a community away from tennis. Their responses indicated that they were at the highest level of institutional value when it came to validating all team members, hanging out off-court, and not drinking before "big" matches. Fred recalled:

> It was awesome. We hung out constantly together. We were just kind of a big, we were the tennis guys….I don't even know how many guys there were. But we were all pretty close, hung out a lot together.

Regarding the norm of not drinking before a match that mattered, Gary pointed out that everyone understood that there was to be no drinking that would compromise what the team was capable of accomplishing:

> I think you understood that. I think if you, if it was a big match and you felt like you are, you're going to maybe let, because not everybody, you know, would drink as much as, you know, it wasn't like the whole team did there. Like Dougie. I don't know if he, once a, once in six months he'd have a beer. I mean, he never drank. And Adrian. I don't think he ever drank. And Scotty never drank, but there's lot of other guys that did. And, you know, so if you are playing in the top team and you are with those guys, you made your decision based on, you know, individually, yeah, maybe you wanted to go to this party, but you aren't going because you didn't want to let your team down. You didn't want your performance to be sub-standard in a way that would influence the outcome of the match for sure. You know we had…you know, you, it was pretty lopsided, our, the MIAC, I mean, the competition wasn't that strong. I mean, I hate to say that. It's much better today. But it wasn't back then. And you could skate through a lot of matches hung over, you know, with little sleep. And so the matches that really counted, if you're in the national tournament, yeah, you are all-in focusing on that.

While the norms with highest degree of collectiveness were norms that dealt primarily with off court relationships and behavior, the teams of the early 1980s were almost equally collective with norms about who they were on the tennis court and in competition. They were at a degree of collectiveness of 14 on the norms of giving full effort, not challenging opponents' line calls, respecting opponents, competing and winning the "right way," overruling a doubles partner's incorrect line calls, and focusing

on things within their control. In summing up the team's approach to competing, Gary notes that the team bought into Coach Wilkinson's philosophy of competing:

> We didn't have that kind of atmosphere where, I mean, we didn't hate our opponents. We were focused more on our efforts and our things that, you know, this goes back to the thing that Wilk preached a lot, too, was control the things you can control, and let go of the things you can't.

The two norms that did not appear to be collective based on Gary and Fred's responses were supporting teammates who were competing on court, and helping teammates away from the court. This team was, however, supportive of each other in every other way. These norms were coded lower because Gary and Fred did not speak directly to these specific issues during their interviews.

Despite these two outlier norms that did not appear to be of the highest degree of collectiveness or phase, the teams of the early 1980s developed significantly, in terms of their moral atmosphere, from the teams of the 1970s. They were the first team of Coach Wilkinson's to pursue tennis excellence while functioning as a community with a multitude of highly collective norms that produced expectations for behaviors that were upheld on and off the court. Their rise to levels of 3 of institutional value and stage of community contributed to the growth. So, too, was the ascension of Scotty to the top of the lineup and leadership group. Additionally, as described above in the discussion on their institutional value, Coach Wilkinson seems to have encouraged them to spend time together and to bond as group.

In conjunction with 14 of their collective norms ranging from Degrees 13 to 15 of collectiveness, the vast majority of the teams' of the early 1980s norms were at the

second or Conventional Level—Stages 3 and 4. These stages reflect living up to the expectations of significant others, applying the Golden Rule, and assessing what is right based on contribution to the group (Power et al., 1989). Gary epitomizes this Stage 3 and 4 reasoning in his discussion of the importance of avoiding racquet throwing out of frustration:

> I think they would try to come up with an equitable solution and not go off the deep end, and not embarrass quote, the team. I mean, when somebody lost it—right, wrong, or indifferent—threw a racquet, busted a racquet, you know, in somewhat, in some fashion, it did reflect on the team. And if you did it, you know, yeah, you're probably disappointed in your behavior, but you're probably more disappointed in the whole refraction [reflection] of the team part of it. Because these are, again, your friends or your roommates, or people you had to live with, in the future. Your opponent, you may not see for a while or you didn't have to interact with them. But, these other guys, they were your, that was your brotherhood.

The success of the teams of the early 1980s seems to have caused Coach Wilkinson to become even more intentional with creating a moral community. Coach Wilkinson began to sense that he could use the group and its expectations to help players not only improve their physical and competitive skills, but also their sportsmanship and application of values in competition and within the functioning of their community. He was beginning to learn that the impact of his moral education was greater if he had team members acting according to expectations for the sake of the group and its identity, and not only because he believed it was right. These early 1980s teams showed that they could play excellent

tennis while having many collective norms that inspired respectful and just behavior toward opponents, the game, and especially their team community.

Collective Norms of the late 1980s: "You know, not only playing hard but 'playing the right way.'" In the late 1980s, team members spoke, more than any of Coach Wilkinson's previous teams, about the family or brotherhood aspect of the team as a motivating force for upholding team norms. This came as a result of the foundation laid by the teams of the early 1980s and its impact on those who would become leaders in the late 1980s, and through Coach's increased intentionality in creating a community designed to teach his philosophy and values to team members. This era's norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 6.

Table 6

Collective Norms of the Late 1980s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They: Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	13) I and They: Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	13) I and They: Limited Collective	5	L II : S 3
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	14) Implicit: We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4

The teams of the late 1980s carried on the collective norms that had been established by the teams of the early 1980s. As seen in Table 5, these teams held all sixteen norms as collective. All norms held degrees of collectiveness between 13 and 15. Fifteen out of the 16 norms were expected and upheld at Phase 6. The only exception is that the norm of avoiding drinking the night prior to a big match was not upheld on one occasion in the late 1980s. Consequently, this norm was coded as Phase 5, where the norm is expected, but not followed. Throughout the vast majority of this time period, however, the team's norm were highly collective, led to expectations of behaviors that were upheld, and were reasoned by the group at the third and fourth reasoning stages.

Harmon, a key leader of the teams in the second half of the 1980s, recalls both the community aspect of the team and the desire to "play the right way" being very important parts of the team culture. He felt embraced by the team and its leaders when he came aboard, and felt empowered and responsible for doing the same for the younger players coming in when he moved into a leadership role. Speaking on the norms of welcoming

newcomers as honored guests, having no segregation based on age and ability level, and being a family, he recalled:

> You know, like I said, the guys all, you know, we played and competed, and then broke bread.…They made me feel really comfortable. I felt like I was part of a team. And they were just, you know when you go off to college, it was my first time away from home. So, you know, they become, you know, sounds a little cliché, but almost like your family, your second family, or your siblings and buddies. So, I would say, pretty nurturing, pretty supportive, you know, school, girlfriends, stuff, just getting used to the social stuff. Then so, when I was, like, a junior and senior, that's what I really tried to do. So, so by then I figured out that I'm probably one of the leaders on the team, and want to make sure these guys were comfortable.

Perry, one of the younger players on the team during Harmon's upperclassmen years, described how the team would approach members who were struggling on- or off-court by attempting to make them feel a part of the group:

> My take would be to get to him as a team. If I was an upperclassman and representing the team, I would try to get him into, get him involved, to support him not just at practice, but you know, get him to come to some, whether we go out to eat as unit, get him involved in some team activities: "Hey let's go to a movie, or let's go here. Let's go out to dinner. You know, let's get together. Let's play some cards…," whatever the case may be. Whatever it is. Get him involved so he can make some friends and start to feel a little bit more a part of the group. If he has problems, then find out what he likes, doesn't like. What are the things

> that he enjoys doing or just his, try to get to know him better as a person. "What's your background? Where are you from? What did you grow up? How did you grow up?" That kind of thing. And hopefully we would be learning more about him, his background, where he's from, where he grew up. And hopefully that would help to draw him out, and integrate him into the team more and make him feel more welcomed, and feel more a part of the team.

Equally important to these teams was the way they operated while competing. For Harmon,

> …it was being part of the team. It was a great group of guys. We were competitive, played hard. Had a lot of fun. And I think, you know, as time went on, you kind of learned, I'll use the phrase, you know, "played the right way." You know that culture kind of developed over the four years I was there. You know, not only playing hard but "playing the right way."

In describing the norm of overruling a doubles partner if you feel he made an incorrect call, Perry made clear that his membership in the team community, combined with Coach Wilkinson's teaching on the matter, inspired him and the vast majority of his teammates to uphold the norm:

> In that situation, as a member of Gustavus, in that scenario, my partner calls it out, but if I saw it in, then I would overrule my partner. That's, you know, as bluntly as I can I would just say, "That ball was good; I saw it in. It's your point." And move on, knowing that that's our tradition. Ultimately, my partner would understand. I would understand if my partner overruled me, if you will. If you and I were playing together, and regardless of who was closer to the ball. Let's say I

> called it out and you said, "No, Perry, it was good. Sorry, dude, it was good; I saw it good. Their point." I would go along with you, 100%. I wouldn't question it. Because in my experience, in my tenure at Gustavus, that's the way that it's always been. It's what we have always been taught.…In the heat of battle, I understand, because it could be me calling it out, and me being overruled by my teammate, because I am not saying that this always happens, but that's my understanding, that's the way I've always, when I think of Gustavus Tennis and if I am representing Gustavus Tennis, I give the benefit of the doubt. And I'm not saying that all of the guys at Gustavus would necessarily do that. I think the majority, I would say I think 90% or greater, would do that from our teams.

The teams of the late 1980s had an added element to the high degree of collectiveness and phases of their norms. They were the first group that describes working with Coach Wilkinson in addition to working with one another in discussions that attempted to make team norms collective, and to translate them into behaviors when on- and off-court dilemmas arose. Harmon recalled an incident where drinking was occurring in the homes of host families on a spring break team trip to Arizona. In an attempt to curtail the behavior, Coach Wilkinson was going to hold out of the upcoming match those who were caught. Other team members quickly came their teammate's defense saying that they, too, were involved and that they should also not play if this was the ruling. After conversing with Coach, Harmon stepped in. He described what followed:

> But, you know, I was, like, "Listen guys, we got to be respectful here. And you know, if it's, you know, away from a host family, whatever, but we can't be inappropriate at that host family's home, drinking their liquor." And Johan, who

> was not a big Wilk fan, who was a senior at that time, kind of stepped up and said, "Yeah, that's, you know, that's ridiculous." And so there was sort of this, everybody was together, and Wilk could kind of lay down the line. There was a push back. And, you know, I fell in Wilk's camp, but I was no angel either. But, I'm like, you know, we can't, we can't, you know, be getting shit-faced drunk at our hosts family's house. And, there was kind of this push and pull, and kind of everybody got on board, but it wasn't pretty. So, it was a "You know, hey if you're not going to play, I'm not going to play" and then it's "I'm not going to play if Chris is not going to play." And, you know. We kind of said, '"Listen, let's, going forward, we got to all be on the same team, in the same boat with this issue, and deal with it." And it worked out that way. But, you know, it was a little of a, it was a squirrelly half an hour, 40-minute conversation after practice.

This incident was one of many Harmon describes in which he and Coach Wilkinson discussed before moving forward with the whole team on the issue. The teams of the late 1980s are the first to describe this process being a part of how norms were communicated, understood, and translated into expectations for behavior. Harmon said,

> I felt it was, and remember, I think Wilk called me on it, too. But I felt it was by that time my responsibility. And if I disagreed, you know, I would tell Wilk that too.…So, I felt like at least Wilk had my ear, I had his ear.

Not only did Harmon work with Coach to find the best way to uphold team norms, he and other leaders also worked with other team members to further norm understanding and collectivity. He recalls working with one younger teammate who had a tendency to show

temper and engage in gamesmanship. In some instances this team member would cross the line and Coach Wilkinson would remove him from practice or a competition:

> I recall Wilk being on-court, promptly. Even if it was in the middle of a game. I remember him stepping in a couple times—and I may have this wrong—and it'd be Chris if, anybody, and it would've been my last couple of years. I thought there was someone that Wilk actually pulled off the court for language and throwing a racket. Between us, I think it was Chris. But I seem to recall Wilk saying, "You're done. And you cannot play for us if you're doing stuff like that." And that is, you know, Wilk gave him a lot of rope to hang himself. And Chris kind of had to work his way back into the lineup and behave a little better. You know, by the end of the season he was pretty good on-court, but there were some ups and downs early.

Yet often, the work with getting these players to understand and uphold norms was done by leaders like Harmon through relationship-building and conversations. He described:

> So a guy like him, Chris was an animal in college. There were times where, like, "You gotta be kidding me!" And I spoke to him a couple of times, and just said, "You know, you can't do that." And, you know, he wanted to win. And, you know, it's one of those where sometimes you don't know if people even know what they're doing. They kind of get so in the moment. But, you know, he had a few issues early on with some of his line calls. And I would, I would always play with him in practice and he would purposely, just make horrible line calls to see if I would, it was kind of this test thing. And I would, I would never do it and so, he always joked, "I never got you that, I can never get you mad." You know, he

> would do stuff like hit the ball in the corner. But you know, it was a little game to him. But when we played real matches….We had one match when he was a freshman. He's yelling and making what could've been bad line calls and, you know, I chatted with him and Wilk chatted with him, too. And just said, "Hey, that's not…you can play hard, we want you to compete and grind it out, but you got to, you know, play the right way." So that would be an example of, you know, someone and maybe early on, kind of got a little outside the lines, with that personally. But I ended up being good buds with Chris, by the end of the year.

While Harmon was in a position of leadership, the norms were collective and upheld. When he graduated, however, players like Chris became upperclassmen and the relationship between Coach Wilkinson and the leaders on the team was not as strong. These team members did not entirely embrace team norms. Division amongst the team crept in, and the group began to resemble that of the late 1970s.

During Perry's senior season, the one blemish on the team's upholding of a key norm of no drinking before big matches led to the loss of the conference championship, a rarity during Coach's 39-year tenure. Perry described this situation:

> I think it was a very tough situation. For the fact that I mentioned, we were upperclassmen at the time. So we were the role models. We were the ones setting the standards. We were, we were the ones to be setting things the way they should be, and setting good examples for the younger guys on the team. So there wasn't a whole lot said. I think it was a lot of, I think it upset most people. People knew. People talked amongst themselves, but nobody really addressed it until maybe after the season, and I think they understood. The two guys that I mentioned who

> went out and maybe…well it's a team thing, so I don't want to blame it on one or two individuals, so, and because we win as a team and we lose as a team, so. Yeah, I think it was, everybody's young, so they can make mistakes. I don't think that anybody held it against them. I think at the time there were some hard feelings for sure. So, we were upset, and you know, obviously we want to win for ourselves and for the team, but by the same token, the standards that had been set and had always been in place with Gustavus Tennis and represented Steve, the school and Steve, his program, I think it hurt for sure most of us, if not all of us.

In this case, every member of the team did not uphold the norm of not drinking before what the team deemed an important competition. The norm was in place and was collective, but the phase slipped from 6 to 5 and the stage fell from 3 or 4 down to the more self-interested stages of 1 and 2. It provided an example, however, to show future generations of team members that not upholding this norm could be costly both for the team's potential accomplishments and the team as a community. Without a leadership group in place that was able to have team members on board with upholding these norms, the teams of the late 1980s experienced a regression at the tail end of what had been an era of a relatively solid normative community. This incident served as a sign that there was still more growth needed for the team as a moral community, and that a high functioning moral atmosphere was fragile and fluid from year to year depending on the team's leadership group.

Collective Norms of the early 1990s: "We needed to keep what had been passed down to us." In the early 1990s, the team members did not seem to be quite as close in terms of their relationships with one another, and the team included top players

who were not always in line with Coach's philosophy of competition. Despite the struggles with behaviors of top players who did not uphold norms or promote collectivity, these teams began to have discussions with Coach and one another about their identity as a community. According to both team members and Coach Wilkinson (Wilkinson, 2014), their top players showed improvement in upholding team norms as their careers moved on. Perhaps more importantly, these discussions proved fruitful in elevating the team's understanding and upholding of the team norms, and solidified the team's understanding and commitment to its identity. This era's norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 7.

Table 7

Collective Norms of the Early 1990s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5/6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	11) Spontaneous Collective	3	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	14) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	11) Spontaneous Collective	5	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3

Like the teams of the late 1980s, the norms of the teams of the early 1990s all fell within the collective degrees. These norms ranged from 11 to 14 in terms of their degree of collectiveness, with 14 out of the 16 norms being at Degrees 13 and 14. Interestingly, neither Carmine nor Barry spoke with explicit "we" language, the hallmark of Degree 15 of collectiveness. The two least collective norms, both at Degree 11, were helping teammates with off-court or non-tennis issues, and hanging out together away from tennis. The lack of explicit "we" language and these norms having the lowest degree of collectiveness point to a decrease in the closeness of the team members described above in the section on institutional value. The phase for the two least-collective norms was 3 (helping teammates off court), and 5 (hanging out together off court). Only the norm of helping teammates off-court came without an expectation for behavior. According to Barry:

> I don't think the team, when I was there, I don't think there was an expectation to help that teammate in a class. I think if it was an eligibility issue and that player was going to help you win…you would do it. But I don't think there was more of an expectation than me helping anyone else out of the class, who wasn't on the

> team. You know, I help him the same, not if yet, and the fact that he fit in or didn't fit in has nothing to do with that decision. I don't think, I think it was just a, you know, again I think if they came and asked, you'd help.

For the early 1990s only one other norm had a phase lower than 6. In this era, challenging line calls proved be a norm that was met with some confusion by team members. For Carmine, there was no confusion on this norm:

> But I knew early on, you know, what Steve's philosophy was on that and how important sportsmanship was and how you don't question your opponent's line calls. I can't say that I, I questioned a whole lot of line calls from opponents, in the past before I got to Gustavus. But certainly once I came and understood what the expectation was, then I certainly wasn't going to do it.

Barry, on the other hand, read the norm as less concrete from both the team and Coach Wilkinson's perspective:

> Well, now I know that he'd want you to say nothing. I still, I don't know, when I was playing, I really, I mean, I knew he'd be proud of you if you did the right thing. At the same time, he wanted you to compete as hard as you could compete and not let people push you around. So there's kind of that dichotomy there a little bit. And so I think he'll be extremely proud of you if you just didn't say anything. But I think he wouldn't think less of you, if you question that one. Does that make sense?

Barry was less clear on this particular expectation, but was aware that whether you asked the opponent if he was certain of his call, or you said nothing, there was to be no arguing over the opponent's call. The call was ultimately outside of one's control. In fact, Barry

recalls a time when the top player on one of his teams was inches away from fisticuffs over line calls with an opposing player. He described this situation:

> So, back in the day, there weren't officials at matches. And this particular opposition always had a really good team, and so did Gustavus. Our matches turned into, "You better be ready to fight for yourself," literally. It wasn't a great atmosphere, but it was what it was. And let's get ready, and let's show up and compete. I remember specifically, the number-one player for Gustavus playing number-one player for this school. They are both ranked top five in the nation. And they were in the second set and were arguing about a line call. And they actually decided to drop their racquets and leave the court and fight to decide who was going to get the line call. And at that point they dropped their racquets, were walking off the court, and the two coaches ran down and calmed it down and everything. But it was, it was very different, you know.

This top Gustavus player was nowhere near upholding the norm of not questioning opponents' line calls. His behavior impacted Barry by showing him what not to do, and by giving him and his classmates and idea of how they wanted the team and its culture to move forward. For Barry:

> Definitely, I think, as I became, when I was a senior, we had a group that was probably much less accepting, probably because what we saw when we were coming up.…Not to say that, anyone in that first group was bad, you know. It's just that I think that we witnessed a lot of stuff that we didn't want to have to be part of our team.

Barry also admits that this particular player did make progress due to many behind-the-scenes conversations with Coach Wilkinson, and encouragement from teammates. He was never perfect in accepting and upholding norms, but he did show improvement. As the top player, this improvement had considerable influence on the team's norms. He also served, however, as one of the impetuses for conversations between team members and Coach Wilkinson about the team's identity.

For the first time, team members described intentional conversations with each other and Coach Wilkinson about the team's identity and team norms. For Barry, these conversations (described in detail above in the section on this era's institutional value) led to an understanding that different team members have different shortcomings that prevent them from accepting and upholding team norms. Yet a team community that has norms with a high degree of collectiveness and high phase can help these team members make progress. Barry described the norm of team leaders trying to help team members, including top players who struggled with upholding norms, become more integrated with the team's culture:

> But now somebody is undermining on purpose. I dealt with that with Chester, and he was, he was one of those people just, you know. And I had conversations with him. Teammates would kind of, you know, because we talked to Wilk**.** They'd be, you know, if it was someone undermining what you're trying to accomplish and what Gustavus Tennis is, I think action by the team is to take it. During my time it was not always effective, because, and looking back a lot of the stuff you can't, people are who they are to a point and so. But you know there was improvement too.

This pulling in of difficult teammates was a part of carrying on the team tradition that had been passed down from teams of previous eras. Both Barry and Carmine felt this responsibility to not let the difficult team members ruin the team's culture. Barry described the experience of upholding the team's identity in terms of being a winning team and being a team that competes the right way:

> You know, but there was, you know, the team was definitely trying to keep itself on the path that had been passed down to you.…And it was just real intense. We needed to keep what had been passed down to us. Not just winning or losing, but there was protecting. We needed to prove that we could protect what this was, as well, I think.

Ultimately, Barry describes his own transformation through involvement on the team as a move from thinking primarily about himself as an individual to thinking of the team first. In fact, he even spoke with Coach Wilkinson about removing himself from the doubles lineup to help the team:

> So, over time, I think, I just shifted from an internal focus to an external focus of more about the team, and what, how can I help the team win? My senior year, my doubles partner and I, we just, it was not happening. In the fall, it was awesome, almost won the ITA. You know we get to the spring in the mid-season, and it's just, it's like, it's not happening. You know, there was this freshman who is not playing in the lineup, and he's playing awesome, and I just told Wilk, and I just said, "Look, just pull me. Just take me out of doubles. Let's rearrange the lineup." And you know, and it helped us win the conference.

Despite somewhat of a lack in closeness among team members compared to previous eras, and some struggles with top players not upholding some of the team's norms, the teams of the early 1990s were a community that still had collective norms that were predominantly at Level II, Stage 3. They were a group that tried to live up to the expectations of their teammates and Coach Wilkinson, and they wanted to be good people and teammates in the eyes of those close to them. There were exceptions to this reasoning on the pre-conventional, self-interested level. Yet these teams also showed signs of being at Stage 4 when it came to having a primary and intentional goal of upholding the team culture of competing the "right way" that had been passed down to them. They were interested, especially by the end of Barry's time on the team, in keeping the team going and avoiding a breakdown in its culture. As the team moved into the late 1990s, the leadership configuration changed again, and the team's collective norms went through another series of important changes.

Collective Norms of the late 1990s: "You take the lessons and you build your family, on the foundation, on those lessons." As described above, the teams of the late1990s began with an institutional value of Level 3, and as a community at Stage 3. As the time period moved on, they progressed to Level 4 and Stage 4, respectively. The start of this time period involved Khalid, a top-level player, who arrived on the team and immediately began playing at the top position. His status as the team's best player was similar to how Everett joined the team in the late 1970s except Khalid clashed less with Coach Wilkinson and the older teammates than did Everett. His arrival and acceptance of most team norms was a strong influence on the evolution of the team's norms. This, combined with increased intentionality from Coach Wilkinson following the identity

discussions of the early 1990s, led to a team that would eventually hold the most collective and highest phase norms to that point in the program's history. The late 1990's norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 8.

Table 8

Collective Norms of the Late 1990s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	5	L I : S 2
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	5/6	L II : S 3
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	11) Spontaneous Collective	6	L II : S 3
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4 & L III : S 5
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5/6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 4
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3

All 16 norms of the teams of the late 1990s were collective, with 15 of them having a degree of collectiveness of 13 or higher. They had three norms that were at Degree 15. These norms were validating all team members, having a team-first approach where team members are seen as brothers, and respecting opponents. Two of these three norms have to do with how teammates treated each other. Both Khalid and Lawrence, two years Khalid's junior, spoke to the importance of the brotherhood and caring for fellow teammates. Khalid credits the upperclassmen for mentoring him and showing him the importance of Gustavus Tennis being about the team rather than the individual. He said:

> I've seen it by example from other upperclassmen. I've seen the tight-knit family. Everybody cares for each other. The culture that Steve has built in that program to, you know, be nurturing and care for each other, and, you know, just not be a "me" guy.…So that was helpful. I started to kind of grab onto that and, you know. It's not just about you. It's, you know, grasp the team as everybody's having fun, and, you know. In the end was, you know, tennis being, at times, an individual sport, but overall it's a team sport.

Lawrence put it this way:

> Maybe I'm a little strong on the family angle, but that's the best way that I liken it, kind of a brotherhood. I felt like everyone had each other's back, which is not something that you always feel in a team environment. Kind of through thick or thin, that team was going to be sticking with you and backing you up. That's something that's unique, and I think it's developed over time, certainly, but the fact that people want to spend time together, it starts with that first initial meeting,

> where you're being taught how to behave as a family and how to welcome folks in, in a way that makes them feel a part of something, and makes them feel like they're charging towards one goal, breeds that sense of a family and unites folks.

The norms of these teams were particularly strong in terms of being close with one another and the functioning of the community. The phase of these and other similar norms were all at Phase 6, where the norms were both expected and upheld.

In the early portion of this time period, Khalid and his teammates were sometimes challenged by norms such as not questioning opponents line calls and moving on from what they perceived as bad line calls from opponents. They understood the expectation of not questioning the opponent's call, but in the heat of competition, they often operated at Phase 5, where the norm was expected but not followed. Khalid describes this:

> And that's, the question that you asked, I probably would, myself, I'd be mad and I'd argue it. What's expected, you know, the philosophy Steve has always tried to preach is, you don't challenge other people's line calls. In that situation, as competitive as I am, I'm gonna challenge line calls.

Lawrence was less abrasive in his approach, refusing to argue the call. Yet he also noted that he and most of his teammates, like the teams of the early 1990s, would at least ask if the opponent was certain of the call. He said:

> I think if I would have challenged it. I think I would have done it in a respectful way. But in the heat of competition, knowing what's on the line, I think I would have felt that I needed to at least confirm that that person was sure. "You sure about that call?" type of thing. And you generally know how those things go. But I think you owe it to yourself, and you owe it to the team to at least ask the

> question. Because if you're 100% certain on something, I think it's worth the question. I think that would be the way I would have handled it.

Despite their willingness to question calls, the interviewees from the late 1990s both report the highest degree of collectiveness and phase on the norm of respecting opponents. Khalid recalled:

> So, he [Coach] always would try to, you know, he'd have team meetings about it, and be respectful. I think we did a really good job of that. You know, win or lose, and if you're ticked off about something you've still got to respect your opponent, and shake their hand, shake the coach's hand, and just not be stuck up and I'm-too-good-for-you mentality. It's be respectful. And I think we did a really good job of that. I mean, we were complimented many, many times from other programs about how we carried ourselves on the court.

Lawrence put it this way:

> Do we have expectations? Yeah. I think sportsmanship is a word I should have used earlier. That was A-number-one, is respect your opponent and give it your best and make sure it's your fair best. And that was Wilk. He hammered that home, right from the start.

Lawrence was convinced that his team was able to ask if an opponent was certain of a call in a respectful manner. This was, for him, an example of the team taking one of Coach Wilkinson's teachings and making it their own. There was a line that was not to be crossed in terms of being disrespectful to opponents, and Lawrence's team was aware of that line. In fact, their upholding of the norm of respecting opponents was a part of their

identity. They had to uphold the norm for the team. This norm, like the majority of their norms, was at Level II and Stages 3 and 4.

Lawrence described avoiding throwing his racquet in a similar way, and provides evidence for Level II reasoning in which the team determined right and wrong by living up to the expectations of community members, and the contribution of an action to the community:

> Got to hang on to the racquet. You gotta hang on to the racquet. That seems pretty cut and dry to me. I don't think, necessarily, it always happened that way, but I think for the most part, it does. Again, I think you learn from the situations that you've had, done that. All that stuff became self-policing. Don't want to do this for the sake of the reputation, not only of myself, but for the team. We're looking out for each other in that way.

As the late 1990s came to a close, Lawrence's responses show that the team's institutional value and stage of community rose to Level 4 and Stage 4, the highest marks in both categories. The team norms for the latter teams of the late 1990s also improved in terms of degree and phase from the previous era. They were the first teams to describe being trained to intentionally act as a family. Furthermore, Lawrence describes the process of a team taking in Coach Wilkinson's teachings and making them their own while building the team's identity and relationships among team members in the process. Lawrence said:

> Wilk. He led the way, and he lives that out, and you see that and you learn from that. It's not like there's this kind of lip service, it's like, "Alright, here are the rules." He definitely lives that out and that hammers it home much more, but I do

> think that the team takes on its own sense of ownership of that, and develops and cultivates that in there. I don't know if I want to say their own spin, but it makes it their own. That's a part of becoming a team and bonding together, you take the lessons and you build your family, on the foundation, on those lessons.

This approach promoted norms at the highest stages seen to that point in Coach Wilkinson's tenure, and produced a team community that was collective with norms about their interactions with each other and the ways in which they competed with other teams. These teams embraced Coach's teaching and their relationships with each other with norms at the Conventional Level Stages of 3 and 4. This combination set the scene for the early 2000s, the era of Coach Wilkinson's tenure with highest institutional value and collective team norms, and with the highest degrees of collectiveness, phases, and stages.

Collective Norms of the early 2000s: "The Three Crowns…It's something we have learned from our teammates and from my Coach…that kind of framework that we based our decisions on." The early 2000s were teams that best represented Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, cared for each other, and held collective norms that were consistently high in all three measures that Power et al. (1989) used to assess norms. As described above, this was the first group whose interviewees' responses fit decidedly into the Level 4 (Normative Community) of Institutional Value and Stage 4 of Community. This era's norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 9.

Table 9

Collective Norms of the Early 2000s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4 & L III : S 5
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4 & L III : S 5
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 4 & L III : S 5
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 4
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4

Ten of the sixteen norms during this era are of the highest degree (15) of collectiveness. Additionally, all of their norms are collective according to Power et al.'s (1989) scale. All of the 16 norms are also at Phase 6—they are expectations for behavior that are upheld by members of the group. Finally, the stages of the norms of these teams range from Stage 3 to Stage 5. Igor and Albert's responses showed that these teams felt

strongly about living up to each other and Coach Wilkinson's expectations (Stage 3), that they determined what was right based on contribution to their group (Stage 4), and that they also felt committed to family, friendship, trust, and obligation based on their commitment to the team (Stage 5). They were the only teams to show signs of norms at this stage during Coach Wilkinson's career.

As described previously, these were the first teams to operate with the philosophy titled as the Three Crowns—full effort, positive attitude, and the highest standard of sportsmanship. These had long been hallmarks of the program, but this community branded them and it appears to have strengthened their understanding of the team's norms and identity. Igor describes this:

> I think that question also gets back to Three Crowns of Gustavus tennis that I had mentioned earlier, and so getting back to those things like full effort, staying positive, and being a good sport. Those are clearly the expectations I think that Coach Wilkinson has for his players and that we had for each other.…I think, you know, going back to the Three Crowns, one of the crowns—full, giving full effort—you know, that's how I know. It's something we have learned from our teammates and from my Coach. And it's a value, that kind of framework that we based our decisions on.

Albert speaks with the same clarity describing his teams and their identity:

> Well, the Three Crowns being effort, positive attitude, and sportsmanship. And to me those are the positive aspects, where a player who really maximizes all the things that they have full control over, I consider that person competing in a, in a positive way. You can't become the best player and develop to your highest level

> unless you are maximizing the things that you control. And at Gustavus we focus on effort, positive attitude and sportsmanship, and that to me it's competing in a positive way and in the best way.

In addition to their high degrees of collectiveness on all 16 norms, the norms of the teams of the early 2000s were all expectations for behavior that were upheld by the group. Both Igor and Albert displayed keen awareness that teammates held each other accountable for upholding the team's norms for the sake of the team. For Igor:

> I felt it was important that, I think that we, if we as teammates saw a teammate that was not necessarily living up to those expectations and we would try to call them out on it at least and address it because I think there are times when that things can detract from the, can detract from the team so, we not only had expectations but if we felt, you know, as sort of team leaders that a player was not living up to those expectations, that it was important to try to address that and try to help them through that to try to [help them], with the ultimate goal of helping the team.

Albert described a time, early in his career, when a senior impressed upon him the importance of giving a full effort in practice. He recalled:

> And I think Wilk is so cool with this is. He never felt any need to feel like he was the one that was…setting expectations.…I think he would've done anything he needed. But I think, ideally he created the atmosphere and then the players took over. And I was lucky to come in on a year that had so many guys who understood those expectations, and just kind of put them on me. I guess the best way to describe that is there were several times, especially my freshman year,

> where I wasn't giving really my full effort in practice. And I don't remember Wilk ever telling me that. I do remember seniors on the team. I remember Calvin once getting mad at me, maybe getting mad isn't the right word. But showing it to me, showing me that he knew that I wasn't doing what should've been done. And, I think, we were in an ideal state when I came into the team. Where the players set the expectations and they didn't so much say them as, if you weren't following them, they let it be known. And Wilk was able to just kind of sit back and coach the way that he would want to.

These collective norms and expectations were at equally high levels for norms dealing with how the team members interacted with each other as they were with how the team competed. For Igor, the team welcomed him and his classmates and looked out for one another at all times. He recalled:

> I felt like we were very welcomed by the upperclassmen at that time and which was something that was important to me and I think important to my teammates as we were trying to find our own, find our own niche on the team, trying to fit in.

Albert also felt welcomed by upperclassmen and believed that his teams consisted of close friendships that transcended tennis:

> I think we interacted great. We, and we hung out together off the court all the time. Everyone, as far as I remember, was, I always invited. And I don't remember anybody who for the most part didn't want to take part in the things we did as a team, often, you know, outside the practice as well.

Albert recalls an important friendship with a senior who cared for him despite Albert taking his position in the lineup. He described the situation as an example of how

teammates prioritized relationships and treating newcomers as honored guests during his time on the team:

> Maybe the best example for me would be, because of when I came in as a freshman, I ended up playing six, but I started at seven. And the guy that I knocked out of line-up was a senior, Emmit. And he's also a guy who treated me as well as anyone did. He was, I hung out with him probably more than anybody in my freshman year. And he was a senior. And for a senior to kind of take in a freshman and treat me the way that he did, when he knew from the beginning that I was going to be somebody who might take his spot, and in the end I probably did, I think that probably sticks out more than anything. I think that's a really hard situation. I've seen how hard being the seven guy is on a lot of people, and for him to treat me the way that he did, and handle that whole situation, the way he did, and be such a good friends with him, is unbelievable. And at the time I probably didn't recognize how difficult that probably was for somebody. But now it's pretty easy to recognize how cool it was that he went about it that way.

Albert and Igor's responses show that team expectations and identity were clear to team members because they understood Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, and held high degrees of collective norms, with high phases, based on Stage 3, 4, and even sometimes 5 collective reasoning. The result was a team that was a strong moral community when it competed and when it interacted with one another as a community.

The team exhibited these characteristics during the 2000 NCAA Tournament. The team advanced all the way to the championship match. With the team match tied at 3-3 and the deciding match hanging in the balance, the opponent of the last Gustavus player

competing, Jordan, was given a game penalty for his second violation of the conduct code. Jordan, already having won the first set, was given a 4-2 lead in the second. After a lengthy delay that included the opposing team's coaches discussing with the chair umpire and tournament officials, the game penalty was (incorrectly) reversed. Play finally resumed and the opposing player, having calmed down and refocused, began to play exceptional tennis. He went on to win the second set, and then the third set in convincing fashion. What seemed like an imminent National Championship for Albert, Igor, and their teammates, quickly turned into a tremendous disappointment. Yet we (myself included) were able to handle the moment with respect for the opponents and compassion for Jordan, who had lost the decisive match. Their descriptions of our response point to Coach Wilkinson's example and our commitment to team norms and to one another as guidance in the situation. Albert recalled:

> Well, obviously one [that] sticks out [was in my] freshman year in the national title match. And we lost 4-3 to Trinity. And there was a huge blow up. We're one point away, and Jordan was up a set, and his opponent was blowing up and ended up getting a point, and then a game penalty. And he got the game penalty, which was clearly much deserved. He blew up again and brought out the tournament director. Ended up being a long break. And the tournament director took away that penalty, like, basically reinforced that player's awful behavior, which really helped that guy calm down. And from that point forward he played great, came back and won the match. We lost the national title match 4-3. So, that's, that one will always stick out in my mind.…I wasn't aware enough at 19 to think about things like that. I, the truth, and especially at that age, I think, you're so dictated

> by the actions of people around you. And Wilk refused to, to let it bother him. He smiled throughout it, and the seniors on our team did, too. And we kind of all recognized that we could've lost a couple weeks earlier. We almost didn't even make it to the tournament to begin with. And you know they all handled it in a classy, respectful way. And as a freshman, I think, you just, I think however the older people handle it would've been how I handled it, and they handled it really well and so, nobody told me how to handle it. And I don't remember thinking I should handle it a certain way. But you just kind of fall in line with the leaders on the team.…Yeah, you know, we're quiet and we're demoralized, I think. But I can't think of anything that was done on our part that was disrespectful in a moment that it would've been really easy to start blaming others or being disrespectful.

Igor, a year older than Albert, had a stronger sense of what was expected of the team in that situation. In his words:

> We were there kind of first-hand watching this all unfold and watching Jordan in a very difficult situation. And you know he went from looking very confident to the opponent having the upper hand and ended up losing a close third set and you know that was something that was a challenging situation for I think our whole team. And it was challenging because we felt like we were, you know, within an eyelash of winning a national championship and we didn't. And so that was really a test of some of the expectations that we have talked about—treating winning, winning and losing the same. You know, I like to think that we as a team handled that very well in terms of, you know, congratulating our opponent on a national

> championship but at that stage, at, you know, arguably the highest stage, you know that was a time where and then also feeling like we were that close to winning a championship and then losing, you know, that's where those expectation were really, really tested….I think, you know, I think watching Jordan go through it and, you know, being the final match on, I can't speak for him but I think you know he may have felt like he let the team down by losing. And so, you know, I think we worked hard to try to support him in that, and that's something that's I'm sure challenging to think about for all of us and probably more so with him, too, but I think reaching out as a team trying to reach out, we tried to sort of reach out and support him and just congratulate him on his effort to even be in that situation, you know, that could have been a match that he lost handily and then, I don't know, arguably you know, would that be as tough to handle? I'm not sure, but so that was just one thing that I remember about it. I think we all stuck together as a team to try to both rally around Jordan, but then also to, you know, reflect on the fact that, Wow! We had gotten to a national championship level match and just took, it was a blessing to be able to be in that position and have that opportunity.

Despite the immense disappointment and near miss at the national championship, Igor and Albert's responses are representative of a team that was respectful and sportsmanlike in competition, chose to be positive no matter the circumstance, supported each other at all times, and followed Coach Wilkinson's example during and after the incident.

The teams of the early 2000s marked the highest combination of all three measures used to assess collective norms—degree, phase, and stage. Team members were

close with each other, closely aligned with Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, and adhered to the practice of upholding their accepted and expected collective norms. As these team members moved on from the program, they passed on a deep understanding of the team's culture to the teams of the late 2000s. This final era of Coach Wilkinson's tenure struggled, however, to continue holding the norms as collective and as expectations for behavior.

Collective Norms of the late 2000s: "These guys really don't have that as a goal. All they want to do is they want to win and they want to have fun." The collective norms of the late 2000s' teams were the most complicated and challenging to assess. Nigel and Judd, who were teammates at one point during their careers, were both extremely knowledgeable about their team's norms and expectations concerning Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, the way that Gustavus teams before them competed, and the importance of being a close-knit community. Yet their teams were not consistently able to accept and expect the upholding the norms for the sake of their community. This era's norms and their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage are shown below in Table 10.

Table 10

Collective Norms of the Late 2000s Teams

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Full Effort	Order	10) Limiting or Proposing I	2	L I : S 2
Don't Challenge Line Calls	Substantive Fairness	8) They—Aggregate (I disagree) & 14) Implicit—We Collective	5	L I : S 1 & L II : S 3
Don't Throw Racquet	Substantive Fairness	15) We Explicit—Collective	6	L II : S 4

Norm	Content	Collectiveness	Phase	Level : Stage
Validate all Team Members/No Segregation	Substantive Fairness	8) They—Aggregate (I disagree) & 15) We Explicit—Collective	5/6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Welcome Newcomers as Honored Guests	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5	L II : S 3
Support Teammates Competing on Court	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	5	L I : S 2
Team First Approach/Brothers Who Do Anything for Each Other	Order	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 4 & L III : S 5
Respect Opponents	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5	L II : S 3
Compete Hard but Fair/Play and Win the "Right Way"	Order	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5	L II : S 3
Focus on Next Point After Receiving Bad Line Call	Order	12) They—Limited Collective	5	L I : S 2
Help Teammates Off-Court	Community	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Overrule Doubles Partner if He Makes Incorrect Line Call	Substantive Fairness	13) I and They—Limited Collective	5	L II : S 3
Magnitude of Upcoming Match Determines Drinking Night(s) Before	Procedural Fairness AND Order	5) I—Individual Ambiguous	3	L I : S 1 & 2, L II S 3 & L III : S 5
Leaders/Team Members Work to Include Struggling/Stray Team Members	Procedural Fairness	14) Implicit—We Collective	6	L II : S 3 & 4
Focus on What is Within Our Control	Order	10) Limiting or Proposing I	5	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3
Hang Out Together Off-Court	Community	14) Implicit—We Collective	5/6	L I : S 2 & L II : S 3

In the analysis of norms from previous eras, I occasionally assigned a given norm two phases based on decidedly differing responses from the two interviewees from that particular era, or on an incident that occurred during the time when only one of the two interviewees from that era were on the team. For example, in the late 1980s, the phase of the norm of the magnitude of the match determining drinking the night before was both 5 and 6. The norm was accepted and expected throughout the entire time period, but was not upheld in one season's conference tournament. This led to the addition of phase 5—a key moment where the norm was expected but not followed. More often, multiple stages

were given to a norm because the reasoning varied substantially from one interviewee to the next and/or their thinking on what their teammates would expect showed signs of multiple stages. The late 2000s, however, was the first era that required the assigning of multiple degrees of collectiveness to certain norms. Both challenging opponents' line calls and validating all team members were viewed as much more collective by Judd than they were by Nigel. On the latter of the two norms Judd reports:

> You know, keep taking care of each other. You eat your dinners together. You are, you basically are a family when you're in college. And it was pretty unbelievable that all those people were in that fraternity. There were so many of us and yet we could have it that way.

On the other hand, Nigel describes struggling to validate all team members because he felt that they were taking away from the team's ability to win the NCAA championship. He said:

> Part of those guys that were practicing at like 9:00 p.m. and like, whatever, how old he [Coach] is….And I'm pissed off because I feel like our practice at 2:00 p.m., it's suffering because Coach is getting ready for the next nine hours on the tennis court that he is about to do. And you have some strange guys out there. And frankly I would go out there because I was a tennis junkie, so I would wind up back at Swanson [Tennis Center] at 9:00 p.m. or something just to wander around because that's kind of what I did, Coach, and there's that situation. There's that situation where you, most of those kids are just die-hard and they love it, because who else is gonna play tennis in 10 degrees inside a Swanson [Tennis Center] bubble, because it was still pretty damn cold in there, unless you

> really love it? And you're never going to play! You gotta know, I mean what am I, number 26, or number 28 on this team? You're never gonna play. So then you have the exceptions. The exceptions were kind of assholes or jerks out there. And it was all I could do to not say, "Hey look, Wilk, that guy is a punk. I know you got this no-cut policy, but give me a break man. I mean that guy acts worse than I ever do, and I'm playing one…." But that's not Wilk.

Despite the discrepancy on the degree of collectiveness on two of the norms, the degrees of collectiveness for these teams' norms were in the collective range of Degrees 10–15 with only one major exception: the low, individual degree of 5 that registered for the norm of not drinking—and in this case doing drugs—before matches that mattered. On this norm, and the lack of collectiveness within the team, Nigel expanded:

> I will say I couldn't stop smoking weed. I'd been smoking weed every day for five years and, I mean, I was so obsessed with trying to be fit, and trying to get in shape, and all that stuff, but everybody knew that. Everybody knew that I did, and I just completely undermined my ability to operate as a captain, which was unfortunate because I couldn't, you know, I needed our second best player, Ivan, on my team. I needed him to do what I thought we got to do…which was you had to get buy-in from your number two. And you can get one and two on the same page, you can get everybody else to buy in. But I couldn't do that because, well, I could do the conditioning myself and get that done. I couldn't very well say, "Hey, you can't do part of what I'm doing." And so the one that I violated was, we had an agreement that we would stop smoking weed and drinking before we went to nationals because both of the performance-based, and the risk of testing

> positive at the one place where we could be drug tested. And if I had been drug tested at nationals in 2006 I would have failed. I would've failed for marijuana and probably other stuff. You know, alcoholism is based on sort of selfishness and powerlessness, and I would try to counteract that. I had a sort of cocktail of performance enhancers that I thought would counteract the probable damage that was going through my lung tissue to operate aerobically. And so I just did both. I thought, "Fuck it, if I'm going to fail, I'll fail big."

Other than this norm's lack of collectiveness, the next distinguishing feature of the norms of this era is that 12 of the 16 norms have phases below Phase 6. Two norms—giving full effort, and not drinking before big matches—were at Phases 2 and 3, respectively. They did not carry expectations for behavior. Still, 10 norms were at Phase 5. These 10 were expected but not followed by the teams of the late 2000s. Three-quarters of these teams' norms were not upheld. As I noted above, the squads of this era had a keen understanding of the program's norms, but they did not uphold the norms.

For Judd, a strong proponent of the team as a family, the lack of upholding the norms was primarily based on disagreements with Coach Wilkinson about the team's approach to competing. For example, if being disrespectful to an opponent meant giving the team an advantage, Judd was less likely to attempt to curtail a teammate's disrespectful behavior, or try to get a teammate who disagreed with Coach Wilkinson's philosophy or a team norm more on board. He recalled:

> Yeah, certain people didn't quite buy into the philosophy as much. Ivan, one of the other best players on our team, I just I remember like, he had this wicked, dipping cross-court forehand that people just couldn't figure out. And he would

> roll it by guys who came in to the net and then stare right at them, and sometimes snap his teeth and growl. And I honestly, I can say that, I can't say that, I mean, like when a guy played him, I think, that worked for Ivan. And I don't know, I had a hard time, for me personally, arguing because I was the same age. I could've said something to him. I don't know, but for some reason, I thought, like, he was better that way. The Zen Ivan? I just couldn't see it, I don't know. And so, I kind of, as long as it wasn't too offensive. You just let him be himself on the court sometimes.

Similarly, Nigel describes his willingness to disrespect opponents in order to win despite being fully aware that it was wrong, and that Coach Wilkinson and the team would disagree with his behavior. He described a match against a teammate in the ITA regional singles championships:

> So yeah, I know I always orchestrated, at least in part, the things like that. The one I really felt bad about, I did that once to Xavier in the fall, ITA in the fall in the semifinals. It's like I said, he was good, man. But he was match raw, and that was a shitty thing to do to him. I knew I could bully him. I didn't know if I could beat him, but I could bully him, and he folded up, man. I won by 2 and 1. It was like 2-all in the first set. It was like 2-all. I don't even remember what I did, but I kind of let him know that it was kind of one of those where this is going to be ugly and nasty. And, "Do you want to do it? Do you want to play this way?" And he didn't. But that was shitty, man. I mean if I look back on that…I'm trying to affect the change and there are times, like I said, this is similar to what happened to with Xavier in the ITA. It's 2-all in the first set and he's starting to come to the

> realization that, "Hey, I can probably beat this guy," which was true. He could beat me if he was mentally willing to do it, because he was good.…But I dealt with that with him and I didn't do it because I thought the ball was out. I did it because I wanted to let him know we are going to have a fight today. Did he want to have a fight today?

Nigel knew that Coach Wilkinson would rather lose than advocate such behavior. The teams of the late 2000s also understood respecting opponents as a collective team norm. Yet Nigel chose not to uphold it, as was the case with many of his teammates. He gave another example of a match he played in the ITA National Indoor Team Championships in which he deliberately disrespected an opponent in order to gain a competitive advantage:

> It was just a personal philosophy of his that there's a right and wrong way to treat somebody on the court. In matches, and in general, and he wanted us to treat people with respect. And I agree. I do now, and I did at the time. But there are times when if I thought it would work in the moment, I'd give it a shot. I can remember at indoors it being the championship, and I was playing this kid from UC Santa Cruz and we are in the third set. I could feel him gaining momentum. And in the middle of an overhead that I missed, one of his teammates—I'm on that court closest, I'm on the court in Swanson where 1 singles plays—and we're at like 4-all in the third, and it's a match we needed if we were going to win. I mean, I can't remember, I think we went on to win 4-3 maybe. Anyways, one of his teammates gets up and walks out of the court while I'm hitting this overhead. And I missed it. And I wasn't, I didn't need to do this, but I felt like, this might

> work. And I just went into a John McEnroe situation with the referee and with the opponent, and just blew it up into a 10-minute fiasco. Let's see what's gonna be the effect to this guy.…And it did work. I don't know. I won the match. But my point was I needed to stop things right now. Right now you have to stop this momentum and I needed us to not play tennis for about six minutes. I needed this guy to think about the situation a little bit. I just think Wilkinson would rather, I think straight up would rather lose the match than win it, if that's going to be the way we win it.

In addition to describing how norms of competition were not upheld, Nigel also describes divisions that existed within his teams. "How did it impact our team? Geez, man, I'm not really sure. I think ideally those wouldn't exist, frankly…As far as those cliques, I think there was some detrimental aspect to it." Despite these divisions, Nigel believed that his role as a leader was to help others become better players. His detailed understanding of how throwing his racquet in a practice match against a teammate was detrimental to his team demonstrates this understanding:

> I think my job, then, in part, then, is to help my teammates improve, man. And I'm not doing anything good, I think there really is a progressive element to throwing my racket. I'm just sending a message. And the message is: "It ain't you," to the guy across the net. And in a practice match, I really don't want to do that if I'm invested in that other guy's success.

Despite his understanding of how intra-team cliques and his own behaviors impacted teammates, Nigel still was unable to uphold both the team norms of how teammates cared for and included each other on a regular basis, and those norms of how the team

competed. Both of these key team members, Nigel and Judd, did not fully accept the team's norms. Nigel struggled to uphold many of them himself. Judd upheld the norms more frequently, but was not a leader who would push teammates to do so. Despite their heightened understanding of Coach Wilkinson's philosophy and the team's norms, their upholding of the norms is representative of most of their teammates. This explains how 12 norms registered below Phase 6 and were expected but not upheld in the late 2000s.

The final piece of the regression of all three measures of collective norms from the teams of the early 2000s to the late 2000s is due, in part, to the stage of the norms for the teams of the late 2000s. In half (8) of the team's collective norms, the group was reasoning at the first or Pre-conventional Level, and the second stage. They were following the norm for their own particular interest, and taking a concrete individual perspective. As Judd described, if poor, on-court behavior produced team wins, but did not uphold team norms (e.g., his teammate who hit a winning shot and then disrespectfully barked or growled at his opponent), the behavior was accepted. Nigel's competitive behaviors, and his detailed descriptions of the reasoning behind them, are further evidence to this Pre-conventional level of community reasoning. Ultimately, this combination of low-level, individual perspective stage reasoning by the group, and lower levels of institutional value and stage of community resulted in a regression in the moral atmosphere for the teams of the late 2000s. This, in turn, led to Coach Wilkinson having less of an impact on team members during their time on the team.

The philosophy and norms were in place, but Coach Wilkinson could not get the team leaders to get team members on board with upholding them. Nigel was a top player and leader who fought against Coach Wilkinson and many of the norms, self-admittedly

due to his own struggles with drugs and alcohol. His example was a key ingredient that held the team back from becoming a better moral community. Judd, who did understand and uphold the norms, was not deeply committed to getting others to do the same because he did not see them as caring enough about the team and program to do so. Their teams held too low of a level of institutional value to be motivated to uphold group norms and think, as a group, at a stage beyond their own individual needs. Judd seemed to be innately aware of this low institutional value and stage of reasoning amongst his group. He spoke to this:

> And when I talked to Wilk, Wilk would be like, "How can I get these guys back in line? How could I get them to buy in?" You know, "Why aren't they adopting the Gustavus philosophy?" And sometimes what Wilk would try to do is say, "You're letting the Gustavus down." And those guys are, I don't really think that one, they didn't see to see it that way, and two, that wasn't a way to get them to change. So, I would try and tell Wilk, "These guys really don't have that as a goal. All they want to do is they want to win and they want to have fun, and we need to find some way to fire them up around those things that they're striving for." And, I don't know if he thought that or not. But that's what our discussion was about.

In the early 2000s, Coach Wilkinson had a group that functioned, for the most part, as a moral community. Motivating those teams to improve their behavior by showing them that certain behaviors were letting down the team community and tradition would likely have been effective. Based on the make-up of the teams of the late 2000s, and the condition of their institutional value and collective norms, however, his reasoning was

much less influential in getting them to buy into the philosophy and to uphold team norms.

Results Across All Eras

The preceding descriptions of both institutional valuing and collective norms, according to former team members, for each half-decade of Gustavus Tennis from 1970–2009, also reveal patterns about team members' understandings of the team's moral atmosphere over the entire time period.

The moral atmosphere over time. The first pattern that emerged, based on the former team members' understandings, was that the moral atmosphere improved or stayed the same over each time period through the early 2000s. At that point, it regressed in terms of both institutional value and collective norms. The pattern can bee seen in the institutional value and stage of community for each era, presented in Figures 1 and 2 at the beginning of this chapter. The pattern can also be seen in graphs of the degrees of collectiveness, phases, and stages of the norms over the eight half-decades (see Figures 3-11 below). The norms have been separated based on their content (Power et al., 1989). Figures 3–5 depict the seven norms of order. Figures 6–8 depict the five norms of substantive fairness. Figures 9–11 depict the norms of procedural fairness and community.

Figure 3

Norms of Order: Degree of Collectiveness

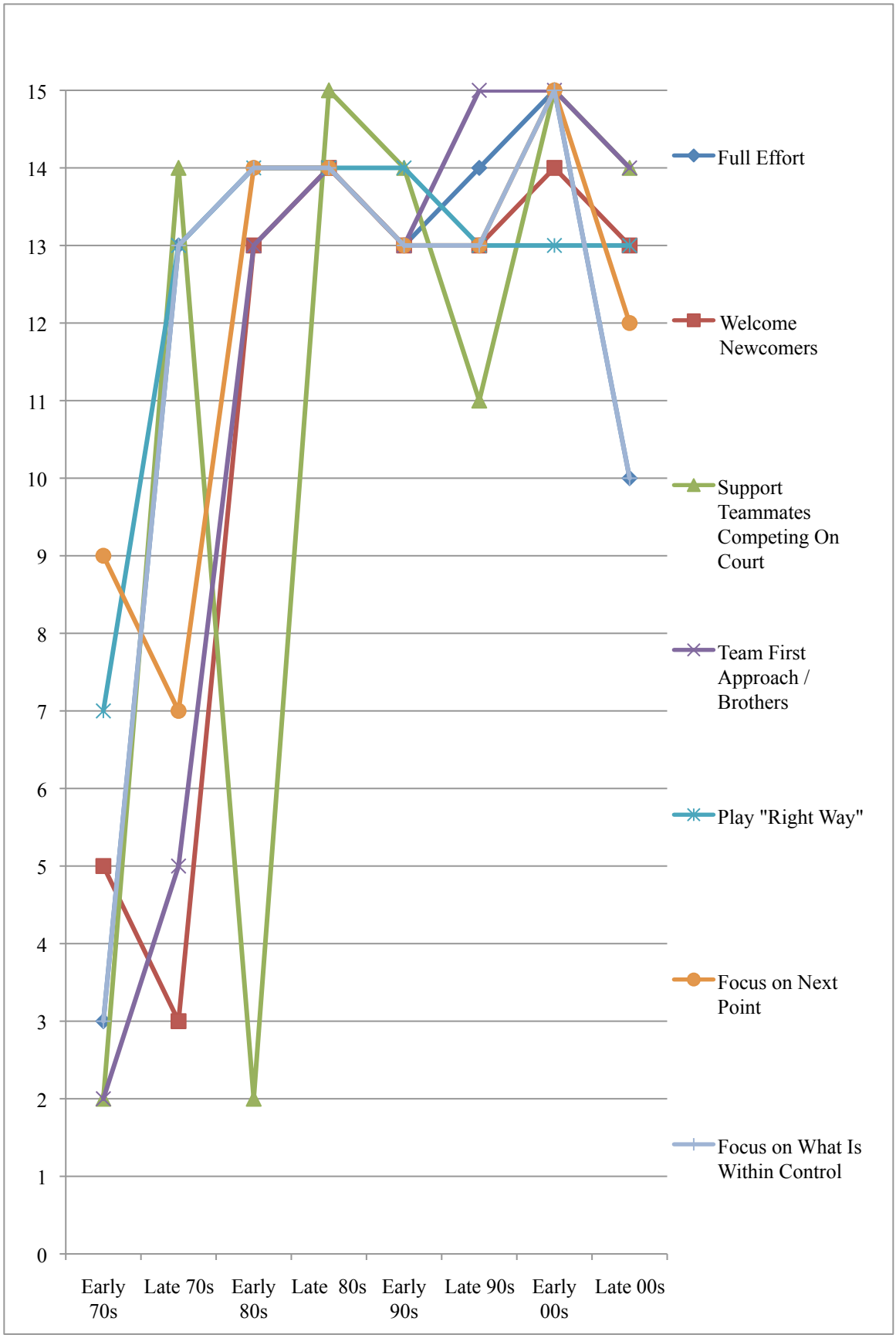

15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Early 70s
Late 70s
Early 80s
Late 80s
Early 90s
Late 90s
Early 00s
Late 00s
Full Effort
Welcome Newcomers
Support Teammates Competing On Court
Team First Approach / Brothers
Play "Right Way"
Focus on Next Point
Focus on What Is Within Control

Figure 4

Norms of Order: Phase

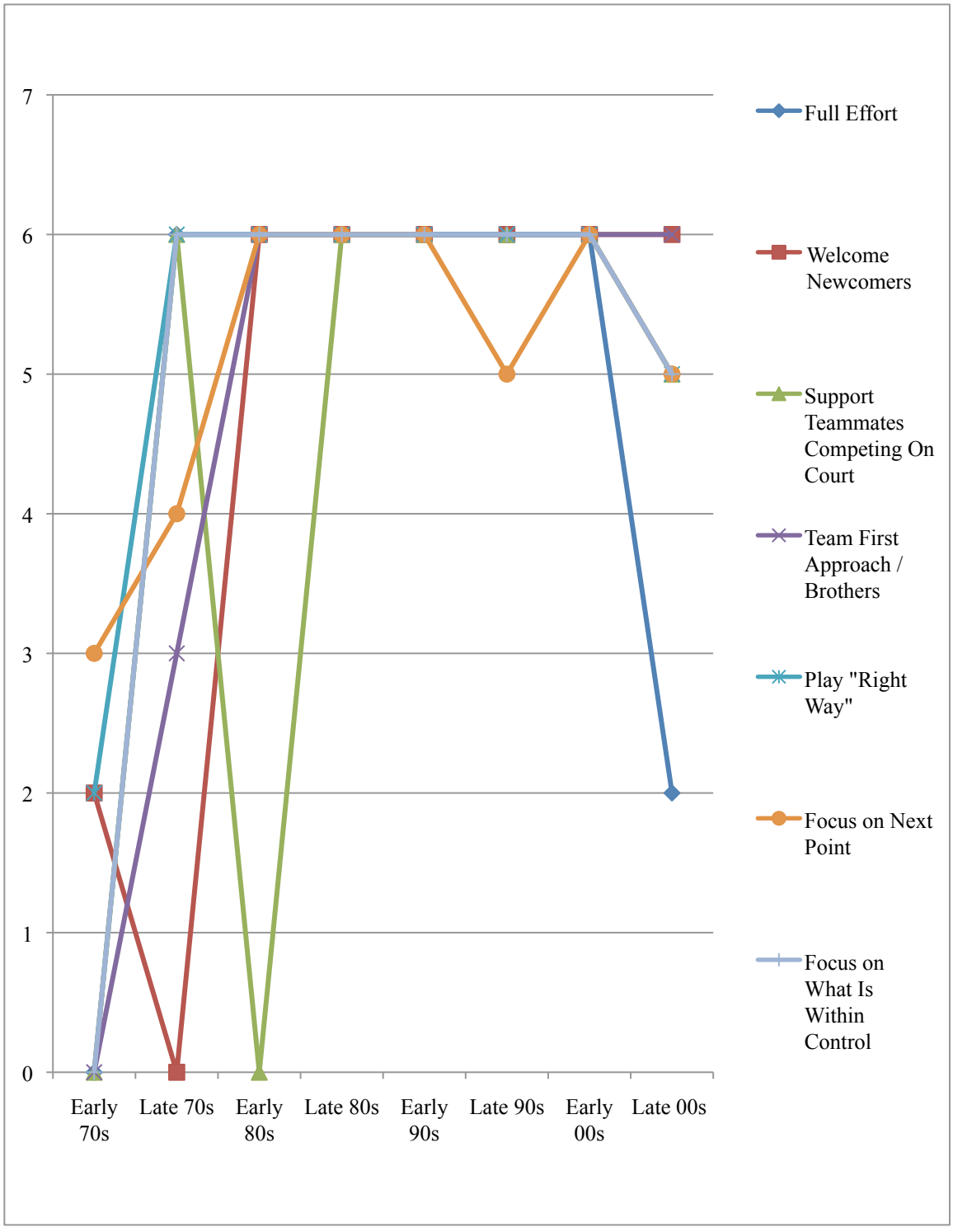


Figure 5

Norms of Order: Stage

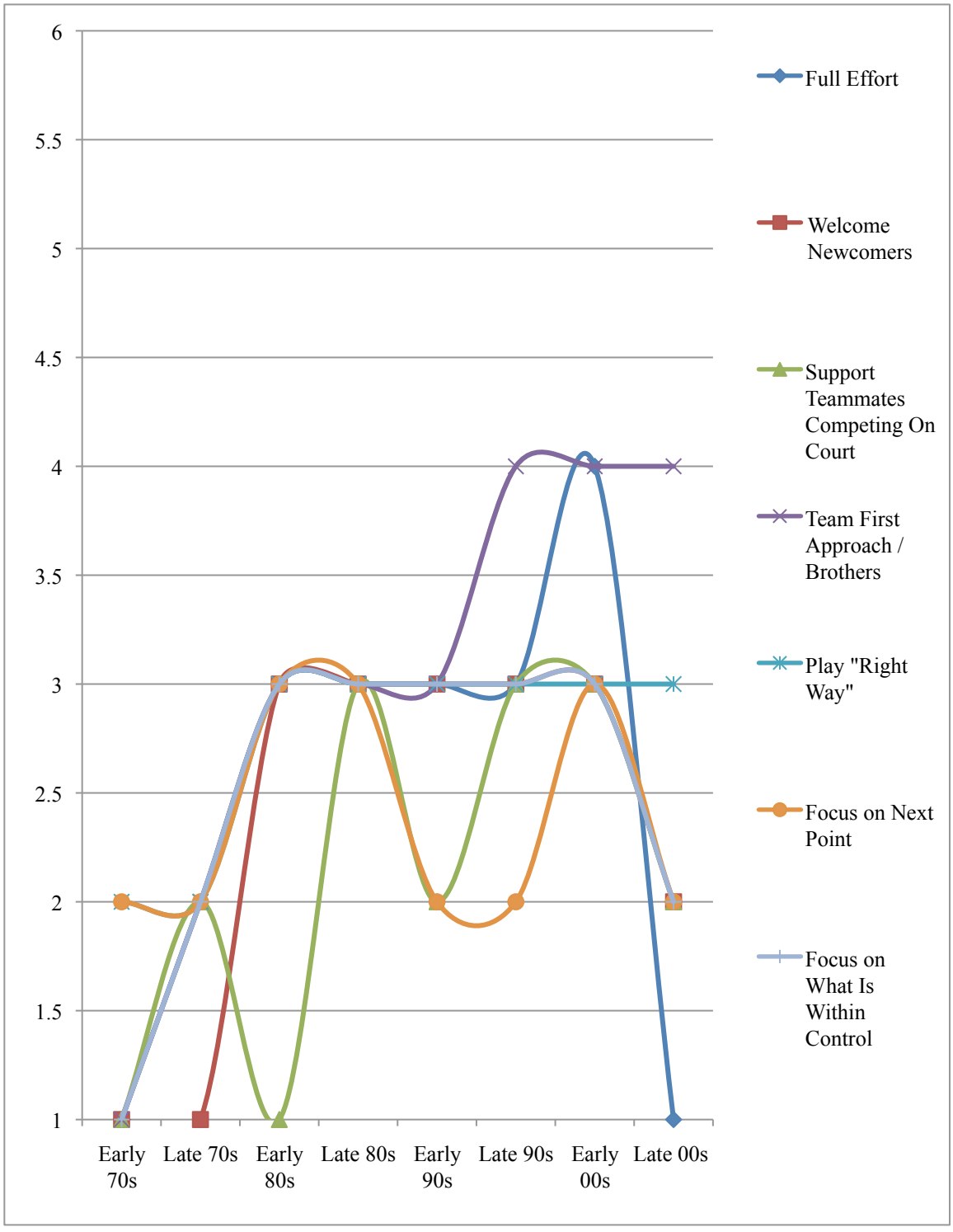


Figure 6

Norms of Substantive Fairness: Degree of Collectiveness

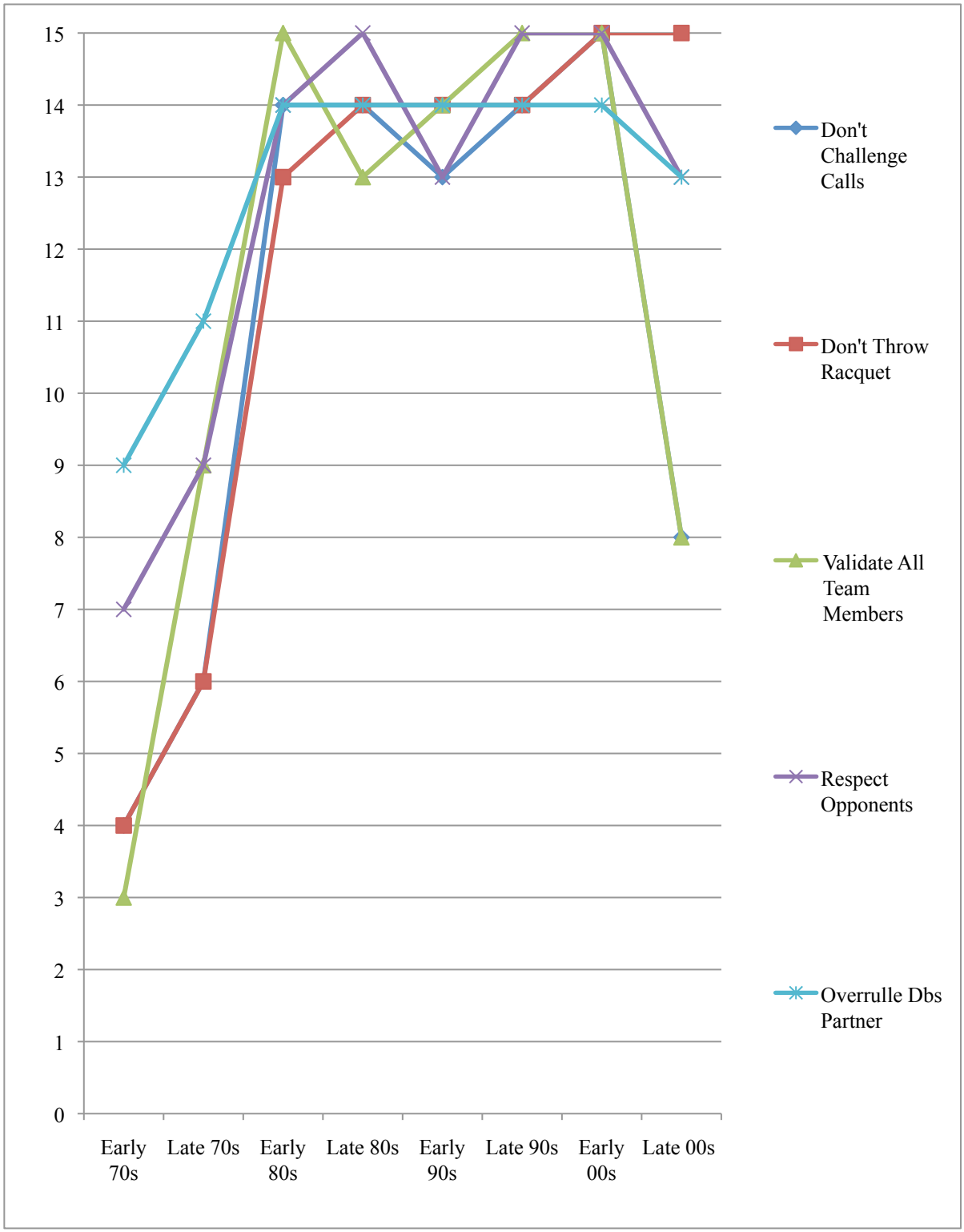


Figure 7

Norms of Substantive Fairness: Phase

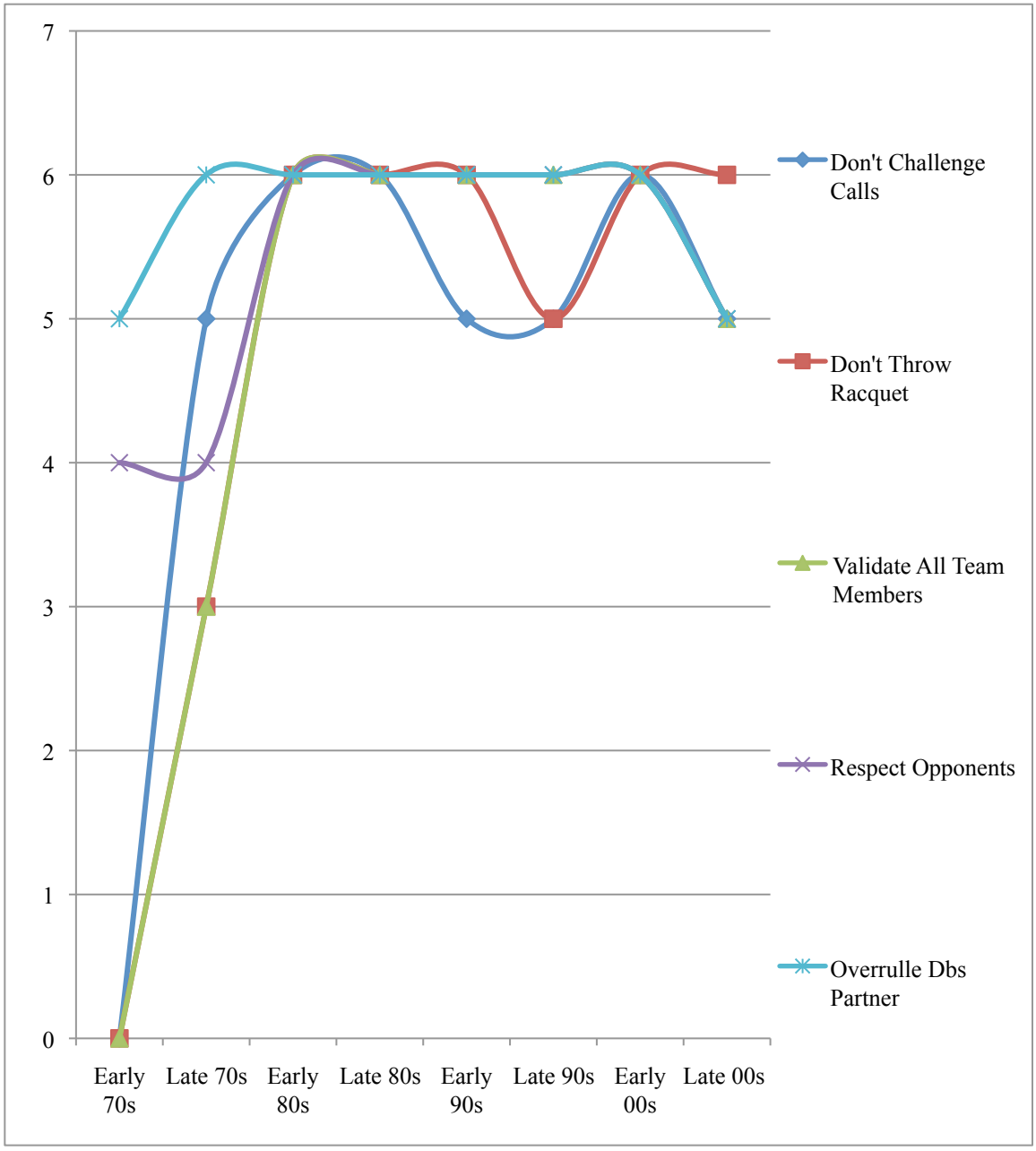


Figure 8

Norms of Substantive Fairness: Stage

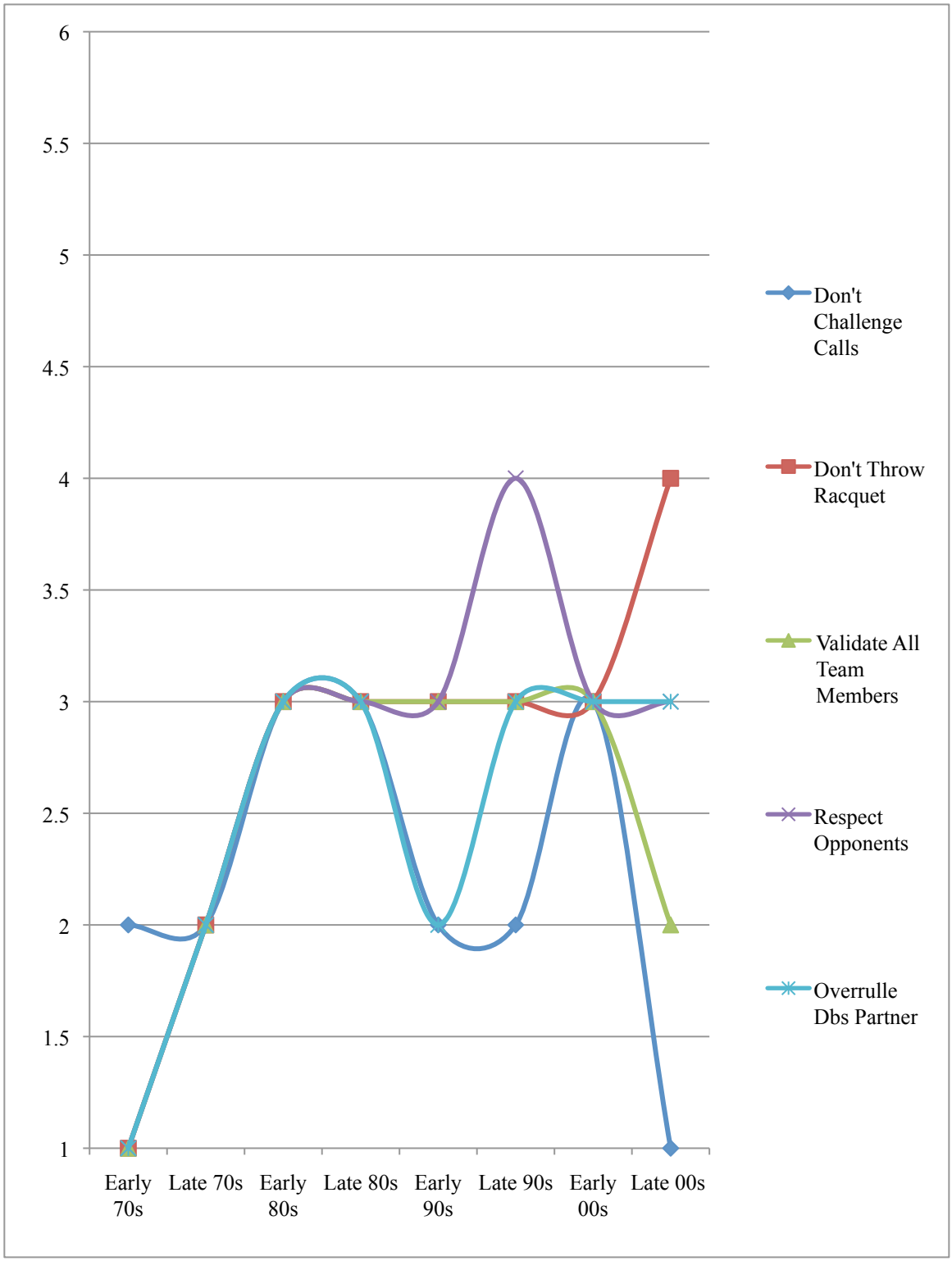


Figure 9

Norms of Procedural Fairness and Norms of Community: Degree of Collectiveness

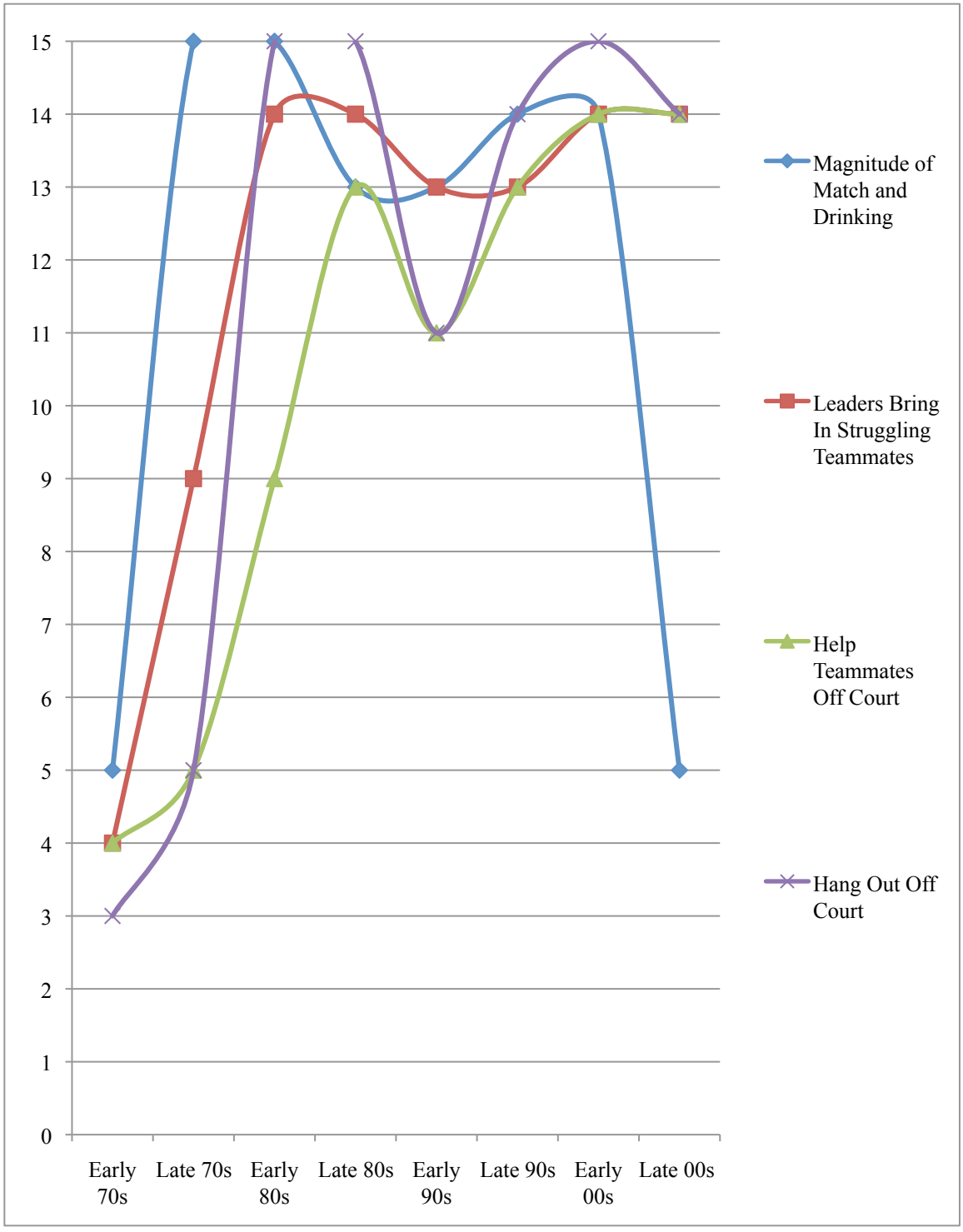


Figure 10

Norms of Procedural Fairness and Norms of Community: Phase

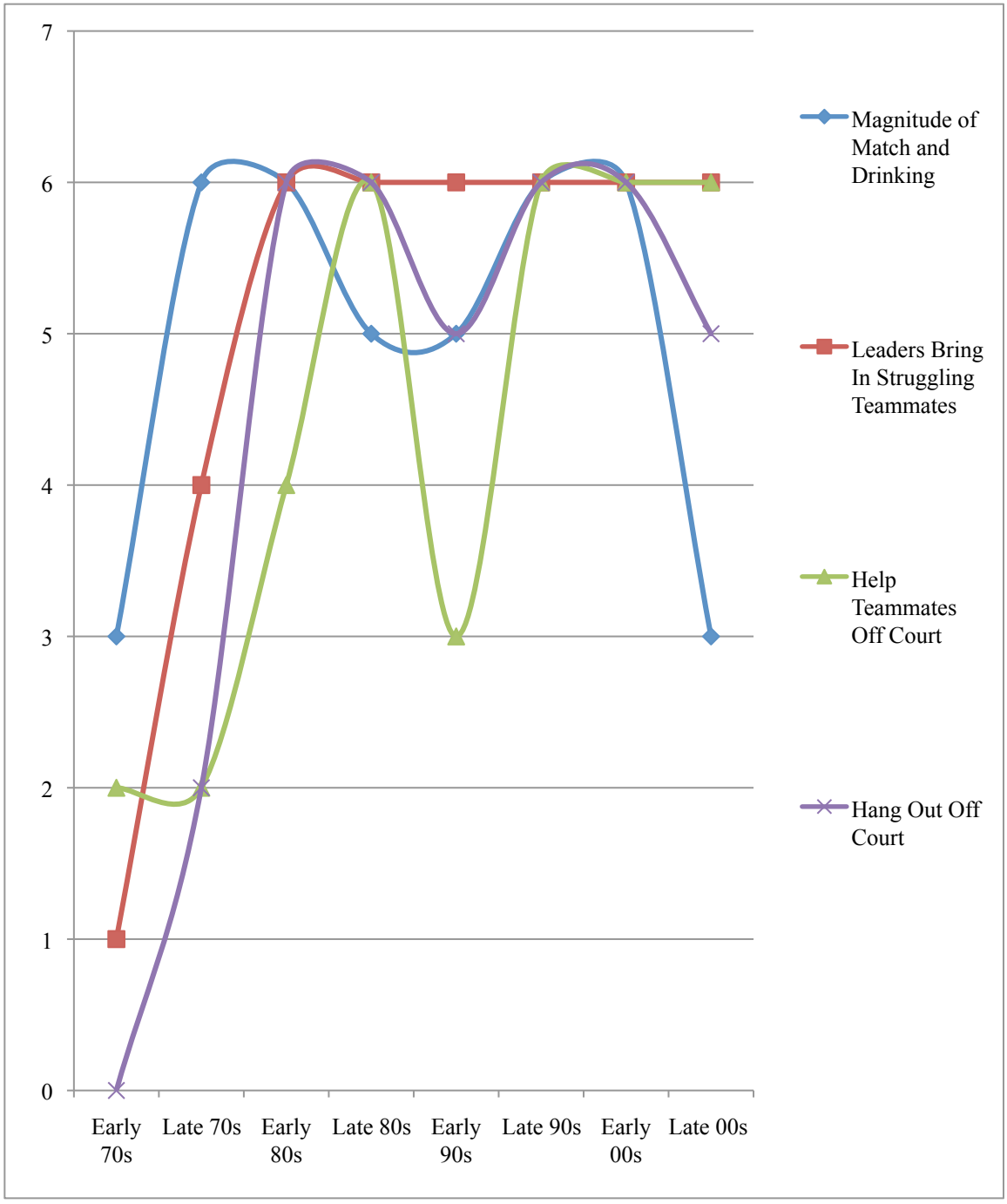
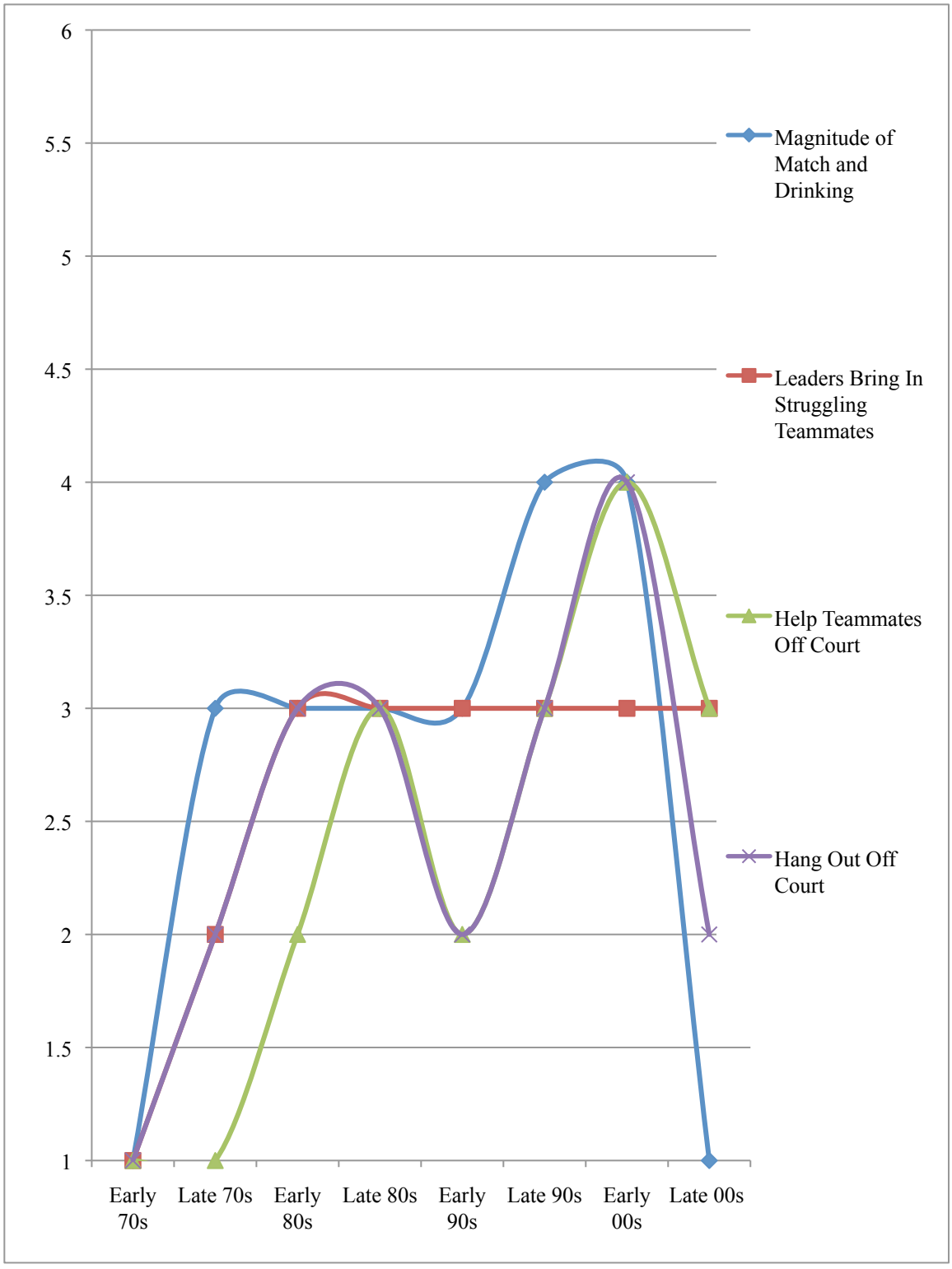


Figure 11

Norms of Procedural Fairness and Norms of Community: Stage



In the early 1970s, Coach Wilkinson seemed to have a set of developing values about how individuals should behave in competition. Based on the responses of Duane and Morris, however, it was clear that their teams had very little expectations for how they ought to conduct themselves in competition as a result of their membership in the program. Behaviors that ran counter to Coach Wilkinson's early philosophy were discussed on an individual basis, but teammates felt little responsibility to each other to uphold a high standard of sportsmanship, or to operate as a community that looked after or influenced one another. They were a collection of good tennis players who were loosely held together under the Gustavus name. Their norms were not collective, and they had low levels of institutional value.

In the late 1970s, Everett and Oscar arrived and changed the culture of the team. They began to place more emphasis on winning and playing great tennis. They prioritized norms that produced better tennis (e.g., giving full effort, focusing on the next point after receiving a bad line call, supporting teammates who were playing against other teams, and avoiding drinking the night before matches they perceived to be meaningful). They were, however, a part of a divided team. They often clashed with Coach Wilkinson and his mental and tactical approaches to player development and competition. They cared very little about how their off-court behavior impacted their team community if it was not directly related to winning. They held six collective norms, and their institutional value level and stages of community were a level and stage above their predecessors in the early 1970s, but they were often a divided community and not on the same page with Coach Wilkinson or his philosophy and values. Overall, their interview responses showed

that they were not a high functioning moral atmosphere as Power et al. (1989) defined the concept.

In the early 1980s, a new top player emerged who was the first top player to truly embrace Coach Wilkinson's mental, tactical, and sportsmanship teachings. Primarily with his example, this team member, Scotty, motivated his teammates to follow norms around Coach Wilkinson's philosophy and around how they operated as a community. Thus, approximately 10 years into Coach's tenure, the team had a group of players that reported being extremely close to and influential for one another on and off the tennis court. These teams made another step in both measures of institutional value, the level of institutional value and stage of community, from 2 to 3 from the teams of the late 1970s. And, as shown in Table 5, the majority of their norms were collective and upheld.

In the late 1980s, the moral atmosphere improved again. The measures for institutional value both remained at 3, but for the first time, all 16 of the norms were collective. All but one of the norms was at Phase 6, and 15 out of 16 norms were at stage 3 (see Table 6). Coach Wilkinson's intentionality in creating a moral community increased during this time. His key method for facilitating this increase was to rely on key leaders, like Harmon, for communication from and feedback on the group when it came to decision-making that impacted the group and the handling of players who struggled to adopt team norms.

The teams of the early 1990s held the same levels, 3, of institutional value and stage of community as the teams of the late 1980s. While their relationships appeared to be slightly less close than the two eras before them, they did take a strong interest in clarifying and upholding the identity of the tradition that had been passed on to them

concerning valuing of team members, and competing the "right way." The top players of this era were not always leaders in terms of upholding norms, but key leaders did work to communicate with these and others who proved challenging for the community. Like the teams of the late 1980s, all 16 of the norms that emerged from the interview data for assessment in the study were collective for this group. All but three of these norms were at Phase 6—expected and upheld.

The late 1990s marked further progression in both institutional value and collective norms. The responses of the players from these teams showed elements of both Levels 3 and 4 of institutional value and Stages 3 and 4 of community. Again, all of their norms were collective, and 14 out of 16 were both upheld and had group moral reasoning at Stages 3 and 4.

In the early 2000s, the team's moral atmosphere reached its highest level in Coach Wilkinson's 39-year career. Both measures for institutional value were at the highest level, and all norms of the norms assessed in the study were collective, upheld, and at the Conventional level of stage reasoning. The team's identity was strongly based on upholding the norms that informed their relationships with each other, their community functioning, and Coach Wilkinson's approach to competition. Both Igor and Albert reported feeling compelled to help their teammates uphold the team collective norms.

In the late 2000s, the team moral atmosphere regressed for the first time during Coach's tenure. As described above, the team's institutional value dropped to 3 for both measures, but also showed traces of the second level of institutional value and second stage of community (depicted as Level 2.5 and Stage 2.5 in Figures 1 and 2, respectively). They showed only a slight decrease in number of collective norms, falling

from 16 to 13, but their norms fell to levels not seen since the early 1970s when it came to the number of norms at Phase 6 (four) and at Stage 3 (nine) or higher. Disagreements with Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, and team leaders understanding the norms but not valuing the norms or the community above winning were important factors in the decline. Still, there was a strong understanding of the norms, philosophy, and traditions in this era. The main difference between it and the previous era was the lack of upholding of the norms for reasons that prioritized the good of the community above the individual.

The relationship between institutional value and collective norms. The second key result is that, for the Gustavus men's tennis team moral atmosphere, an era's institutional value and collective norms were closely related.

The early 1970s had the lowest institutional value and stage of community, and had no collective norms, no Phase 6 norms (norm expectation upheld), nor any Stage 3 and 4 norms. The late 1970s improved their institutional value and stage of community to Level 2 and Stage 2, respectively. They had six collective norms and six norms at Phase 6. Yet only one of their norms was at Stage 3 or higher. Therefore their group moral reasoning was done primarily with individual interests in mind. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the teams were predominantly at Level 3 of institutional value and community Stage 3, with the late 1990s teams approaching Level 4 and Stage 4 near the end of the decade. The early 1980s had 14 out 16 norms at the collective stage. The late 1980s, and both 1990s groups had all 16 of their norms in the collective range. All four of these groups had at least 13 norms at Phase 6 (the team upheld these norms). Furthermore, the number of norms at Stages 3 or higher for these four time periods were 14, 15, 11, and 14 respectively. The vast majority of their group reasoning was at the Conventional Level

where others and the community are taken into account when determining right and wrong. The similar trends of the two aspects of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) suggest institutional value and collective norms were closely related in the case of the Gustavus men's tennis team moral atmosphere. Furthermore, it suggests that increased institutional valuing is related to more collective group norms that are upheld at a higher rate than the norms of a community with lower institutional value.

Coach Wilkinson's intentional involvement and team leaders as key elements in developing the program's moral atmosphere. A third key result that emerged from the data analysis is that Coach Wilkinson's commitment to and intentional involvement in creating a moral community that would help him teach values to individual community members both increased over time. In the early 1970s, Coach Wilkinson was still honing his own coaching philosophy. He was not yet using the community or team culture as a tool to educate team members. Morris recalled that Coach Wilkinson did have many individual conversations with struggling team members about a myriad of topics related to tennis, college life, academics, and other issues. Morris, an important team leader of his era, reported that Coach Wilkinson did tremendous work in helping these individuals mature from a player-coach mentoring role. Yet he notes that neither he, nor any other team leaders, nor Coach Wilkinson promoted a team culture that would impact the moral decision-making of team members in team community dealings (e.g., their top player, Pascal, boycotting matches against lesser opponents), or competition dilemmas (e.g., questioning opponents' line calls).

In the late 1970s, Everett and Oscar promoted a team culture of giving full effort and pursuing national championships, but they were a part of a divided team. Coach

Wilkinson did not have the entire group committed to his approach to training or sportsmanship. He struggled to get team leaders to buy into his approach, and he did not attempt to educate the entire group as much as he hoped to influence individual team members. Eventually, he came to the realization that those who were pushing against his approach were having a too negative an influence on the rest of the team. He pursued removing Everett and Oscar from the team. This conversation resulted in a truce, of sorts, in which Coach Wilkinson and the players agreed to co-exist for the remainder of their careers. They would not buy into Coach Wilkinson's approach, but they would also not talk negatively about him or his tactics in attempts to sway other team members away from him. Everett described the scene:

> So, I mean, anyway, what happened was there was this confrontation building. And in the vans on the way home, you know, there were players that were kind of following behind us, and not behind Wilk. I mean it got to be a kind of a contentious thing. And it was either him or me, sort of. And we ended up going up in a conference room…Oscar and I and Wilk. And Wilk was, he was pretty, pretty, not really emotional about it, but he was kind of at the end of his rope. He was frustrated, and he knew that there are a lot other players on the team that sort of followed us. And if we wanted to do something, they wanted to do it. They, they're, you know, getting lots of other stories about sneaking out there and go out to party, and stuff like that too, when we're on the road.…And Wilk would get mad at us. But anyway, at this particular time, we went up in this conference room, and Wilk said, "I just can't keep doing this." He said, "I think, I got to kick you off the team." And just I said, "Come on. What are you talking about?" You

know, and he said, “I just can’t keep you, I can’t have you continuing to undermine my authority.” And, you know, so we got into it about a few of the issues that we didn’t like. And, you know, or I didn’t like and whatever. And at the end then we agreed. “I tell ya what, Wilk. We won’t undermine your authority in front of the rest of the guys at all. Just leave us alone. And we’ll go play, and we’ll do our thing.” So, we kind of agreed to just not interact all that much. And it worked okay. I mean we didn’t, we really never tried to get anybody to go against what Wilk wanted to do. We used to kind of, you know, make fun of stuff. You know, we’d be doing yoga or whatever. And there were some guys, you know, who were just like, thought Wilk was God and, you know, we, so, the other, the disciples, you know, I mean it’s kind of one of those deals. But we didn’t, we didn’t ever try to get anybody to turn against him. And after that thing, I think he was getting frustrated because he, I think he thought like he was losing control of the team.

Coach Wilkinson became aware, through his challenging interactions with players like Everett and some of the other members of the team during the late 1970s that getting individual members to both buy into his philosophy and develop into more mature moral agents depended more on the team community as a whole than he had previously realized. In the early 1980s, he was fortunate to have Scotty ascend to the top playing and a top leadership position as a unifying example. But Coach Wilkinson did more than rely on Scotty’s example. This is the first time period in which team members recalled being encouraged to build close relationships with each other, and that their actions represented the entire team community. Fred described: “But, I mean, we were just so close and we

spent so much time together on tennis trips and practicing and training and literally it was super open. And it was pretty cool because Wilk really encouraged that." Both Fred and Gary saw Coach Wilkinson as encouraging the development of the brotherhood of which they felt a part. Each of them points to the closeness of the team impacting their norms and behaviors. According to Fred, "Well I think all of them [were on board] sincerely. I think that's a little bit of why this whole thing sort of works. I don't think anybody thought differently." Gary says,

> I mean when somebody lost it—right, wrong or indifferent—threw a racquet, busted a racquet, you know, in somewhat, in some fashion, it did reflect on the team. And if you did it, you know, yeah, you're probably disappointed in your behavior but, you're probably more disappointed in the whole refraction [reflection] of the team part of it.…That was your brotherhood.

Coach Wilkinson was as intentional as he had always been with his training and philosophy of tennis and competition, but for the first time he had a team community that represented a critical mass, with all on board with him for the first time. Furthermore, this community was built on close friendships that team members felt obligated to uphold and represent by following team norms.

As the team moved into the late 1980s, Coach Wilkinson took another step forward in fostering the team community. As both Harmon and Perry described, Coach Wilkinson began to seek out team leaders, especially Harmon, whom he felt were on board with his philosophy and that had the utmost respect of their teammates. He did so in order to stay closely connected to the pulse of the group. If Coach Wilkinson were having a difficult time with certain players accepting the team's norms, he would

approach these leaders and use them as a bridge in encouraging those individuals. He also began to take more feedback and advice from the leaders on issues such as length of certain practices and decisions regarding disciplining players. Harmon was the quintessential connecting leader that moved the program forward. Like Scotty, Harmon was a unifying agent through his example, but he was also a powerful communicator who was very active in welcoming newcomers and building trusting relationships with all team members. He saw himself as a leader and important element in communicating with Coach Wilkinson but remaining one of the guys. He was crucial in keeping Coach Wilkinson involved in the team community, while still allowing the team members to be active in creating and upholding team norms.

By the early 1990s, perhaps because of the challenging behaviors from some of the top players on the team at that time, and due to the graduation of leaders like Harmon, Coach Wilkinson engaged in conversations with team leaders who were interested in clarifying and establishing the identity of the program. Barry was one of these leaders, and believed that these conversations about the team's identity and how the team would go about acting in accord with that identity helped Coach and team leaders shape an environment that would allow challenging team members to improve behavior with respect to team norms. These leaders, according to Barry, felt responsible for caring for the tradition of tennis and community success that had been passed on to them.

In the late 1990s another top player and eventual team leader, Khalid, came aboard. He was groomed and versed in the team-first mentality by the upperclassmen when he arrived. He would never become as vocal a leader or as strong a go-between as Harmon was in the late 1980s, but as a top player throughout his career, his example

spoke volumes within the community in terms of putting the team first. As the late 1990s came to a close, Lawrence spoke as much of a team culture that was about relationships and their binding influence as he does individual leaders. Certainly the leaders continued to play a crucial role in the team ascending to the highest levels of institutional value and collective norms. Lawrence was one such key leader. But Khalid and Lawrence were the first to speak of Coach Wilkinson "teaching us how to be a family." Coach Wilkinson had leaders buying into the philosophy again, but the community was now a unit that he was engaging to help impact team members.

As the late 1990s moved into the early 2000s, the community approached what Albert called "almost an ideal state" because of the way the upperclassmen communicated and upheld team norms. Younger team members, including both Albert and Igor, were able to follow the example of older teammates and learn the norms and expectations through experience as they embraced the team culture of interacting, competing, and constructing and representing their team family. According to Igor and Albert, Coach Wilkinson relied on both the culture and key leaders—Igor and Albert eventually filled this role—to create his highest functioning moral atmosphere.

When the team's institutional value and collective norms regressed, Coach Wilkinson remained committed to and intentional in creating a moral community. His leadership group was less committed, however, and the team's moral culture suffered. Judd and Nigel's interviews clearly demonstrated that they understood the team's norms and Coach Wilkinson's philosophy. Despite this understanding, they did not uphold the norms or reasoning with the community in mind at anywhere near the levels of the teams from the two decades before them.

The role of narrative in building institutional value and collective norms.

Another sign of Coach Wilkinson's intentionality in creating a moral community is his use of narrative (i.e. storytelling) to communicate to team members that he prioritized sportsmanship and moral behavior above winning. Players from every decade after the 1970s describe Coach Wilkinson's effective and impactful use of narrative to communicate his philosophy and establish the consistency of message that Barry and others cited as keys to the program's competitive and cultural success. Fred recalled:

> If anybody hooked [cheated on a line call] somebody for a match, there would be a lull on the team and on the bus and on the stuff. It just wasn't cool. To win a match like that, a win is not a win. It's just not the same. And Wilk was awesome about bringing up the fact that Gary had a match against Minnesota last week and I want to bring this up because this is a big thing. At match point, Gary had a ball…and something happened and Gary overruled his partner and so they went on to lose the match, and that is more important than winning that match. I mean Wilk, he would bring those things up as case and point.

Albert recalls hearing many stories from Coach Wilkinson about instances where players from the past or from his current team chose the most virtuous course of action ahead of that which may have been more likely to produce a victory. He said:

> So, I've seen a lot of instances where something somewhere similar to that happened. And Wilk praised it. And I think he sought out those situations, and even if it hurt our team, those are a lot of the stories he's told, things that hurt our team, that a player acted in the correct way. And if I did, I think, as far as Wilk goes. If I let the call stand, he would probably, I never hear anything about that

> story again. And if I changed the call, he would use that story as something that really shows that I am a better person. To be honest that's the way he used those stories. And he would find a way to make the right course of actions that look really positive. And I've no doubt that's what he would've wanted me to do…just because I've heard him tell stories about it. I mean he doesn't, he didn't really tell stories about people winning or the point of the story wasn't that they played great and won. He tells stories of people in difficult situations, maybe where they actually may have had a less chance of winning, but they did the right thing. And I heard those kinds of stories a lot. And when we hear those stories a lot, you know that's what the coach values, and we're committed. He's pretty clear with what he valued as a coach.

Albert cites these narratives as a mechanism for helping him understand and be motivated to uphold the team's norms. Judd expressed a similar view:

> The story, it's like a, it's almost like, people that are talked about, are the legends of the Gustavus tennis team. And that, you know, remember that time when Albert laid down his racket, because it was the great thing to do. He offered to not play the singles match. He decided to take second so that they could have the best shot in doubles. That's been in every Wilk Christmas card for the last five years! You know, it's true. It's the stories. That is part of the Gustavus philosophy. When I try, that's what I was trying to think, where does this all keep coming from? That's why I kept coming back to, the stories.

Personal growth, identity, and friendship based on team membership. A final result that emerged was that each interviewee, especially those from the 1980s on,

expressed gratitude for having been a part of the program. Specifically, they were most grateful for the lessons they learned, the impact of these lessons on their post-collegiate lives (e.g., learning to focus on things within their control), the lifelong friendships that they developed with their teammates, and a continued sense of pride in having been a part of the team and tradition. These results are, perhaps, best summarized by noting that the team's moral atmosphere—the institutional value and collective norms (Power et al., 1989)—for this particular program, remains impactful on team members even after their playing careers are finished. Lawrence's comments symbolize this result:

> The overriding emotion, what I feel, is that I'm appreciative and grateful that I got to be a part of it, because of all the great relationships I have.…That was amazing, it was amazing how the group can come back together and pick up where they left off. And it really spans the different generations of players. You can see that at different events, which is also really cool. But just really makes you appreciate that you had the opportunity, and you really learned a lot of great lessons. Like, you've learned how to be a really good tennis player, and picked up a lot of great skills there. But it's more about the life lessons that you apply in everyday life.

This chapter presented the data used to answer the main research question and sub-questions in the present case study on the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Men's Tennis. The former team members' retrospective understandings of the program's moral atmosphere were assessed by examining their institutional valuing and collective norms (Power et al, 1989) for 8 half-decade time periods in the Wilkinson era. The results across all eras were then presented. The final chapter includes interpretation of these results and discussion the additions and extensions they represent in sport moral literature

and for practitioners who desire to morally educate participants in and through sport via team moral atmospheres.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DISCUSSION

The main purpose of the present study was to fill the gaps in sport moral atmosphere literature described in Chapter Two by providing a qualitative instrumental case study that advances the understanding of moral atmosphere, as conceived by Power et al. (1989), in sport. The results described in Chapter Four that emerged from examining the instrumental case (Yin, 2009) of the moral atmosphere—the institutional valuing and collective norms (Power et al., 1989)—of the collegiate men's tennis program at Gustavus Adolphus College from1970–2009 lead to unique contributions to the current body of literature on moral variables in sport, in general, and more specifically, moral atmosphere in sport. This chapter presents these additions and extensions, as well as their limitations. It then describes the implications of these results on future sport moral atmosphere research, and for practitioners—namely coaches and players—wishing to develop moral atmospheres in sport in order to increase the likelihood that moral education occurs in and through sport.

Sport as a Context for Moral Education

The present project rests on the philosophical claim that sport can be a context for moral education. Despite research (e.g.: Blair, 1985; Bredemeier, 1985; Bredemeier & Shields, 1986; Kavussanu & Roberts, 2001; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995; Weiss & Smith, 2002), and anecdotal evidence suggesting that sport can impede rather than facilitate moral functioning, it was argued, based on research from multiple disciplines within the study of sport, that sport can be a context for moral education and character development (e.g. Clifford & Feezell, 1997; Lemyre et al., 2002; Shields & Bredemeier,

1995, Wiess & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2009). Viewing sport as a morally neutral activity, establishing a positive, relational view of competition based on notion of striving together for excellence (Shields & Bredemeier, 2009), and making moral education a part of the ultimate purpose of sport are important steps toward allowing sport to become a character-building enterprise. One way scholars argue moral education may occur is through the development of a moral atmosphere that is comprised of strong institutional value and collective team norms.

Results from the present case study of the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Men's Tennis under Steve Wilkinson suggest that members in the program approached sport with these commitments and thereby the program was a context that allowed for moral education through sport to occur. The research questions of the project did not specifically probe former team members' understanding of sport as a morally neutral activity, their definition of competition, or their view of moral education as an intentional goal of playing collegiate tennis at Gustavus under Coach Wilkinson. Yet through their description of their teams' values and norms, interviewees, especially from the 1980s on, demonstrated a "striving together" model of competition (Shields & Bredemeier, 2009) was at work within Gustavus Men's Tennis. Furthermore, the assessment of this particular moral atmosphere over time showed that the sport of tennis itself was not relied upon for teaching lessons or creating collective norms. The norms emerged based on membership in the Gustavus men's tennis program. What and how Coach Wilkinson and team members taught teammates was the primary mechanism for moral education, not merely participating in the sport of tennis itself. This finding highlights what moral scholars have long argued, that sport is not an automatic arbiter of character; it depends

on the social interactions and processes of the team. The results of the study reinforce the notion that sports are morally neutral (Feezell, 1986; Jones & McNamee, 2000; Schneider, 2009; Simon, 2000; Torres & Hager, 2007), but that they can provide the context for moral education if moral education is an intentional goal of sport participation as it clearly was in Gustavus Men's Tennis under Coach Wilkinson.

Contribution to and Extension of Sport Moral Variables Literature

The research question, sub-questions, and primary focus of the present investigation pertained to the concept of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) in sport. Notwithstanding, the results of the study provide insight to other important moral variables in sport that were not the primary focus of inquiry herein, yet often studied alongside moral atmosphere such as cheating, aggression, moral functioning, and motivational climate. The following sections describe the present investigation's impact on these bodies of literature.

Moral atmosphere, cheating, and aggression. The body of research on the relationship between moral atmosphere, aggression, and cheating **(**e.g. Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Shields et al.,1995; Steinfeldt, Rutkowski, Vaughan, & Steinfeldt, 2011; Stephens 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996) suggests that team norms are the most significant predictors of pro-aggressive and cheating behaviors. The results from the case of Gustavus Men's Tennis support the suggestion from researchers that team norms strongly influence behaviors of cheating and aggression. While collegiate tennis is not an overly aggressive sporting context, it is a fertile context for dilemma discussions around issues of cheating due to the fact that in most matches rules are self-governed. The interviewed alumni discussed many instances of cheating, especially concerning the

line calls of teammates and opponents. For example, in many cases across multiple eras of Gustavus Men's Tennis, certain team members accepted the practice of questioning line calls, sometimes in an argumentative or aggressive manner, if it was the norm for their team, despite knowing that Coach Wilkinson did not approve of the behavior. These behaviors were seen in the eras where the team moral atmosphere had lower values on measures of institutional value and collective norms (e.g. early 1970s and late 2000s). In the eras with the highest functioning moral atmospheres (e.g. the early 2000s), however, this questioning occurred less frequently, or did not occur. The same pattern emerged with cheating on line calls. Across all eras of Gustavus Men's Tennis, line calling was to be done fairly. Even if they perceived opponents to be cheating, team members almost always refused to cheat in retaliation because they understood that it was simply not what members of their program were supposed to do.

A second key contribution of the present investigation to the literature on moral atmosphere, cheating, and aggression is support for the finding that coaches and significant team members are highly influential on team norms surrounding these deviant and conformant behaviors (Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Steinfeldt et al., 2011; Stephens 2001). Coach Wilkinson had a major influence on team members across all eras regarding cheating, fair play, and treatment of the opponent. Even if the individual did not uphold his teaching in certain instances (e.g.: Nigel's description of his match against his own teammate in the ITA regional singles tournament where he cheated in order to send an early, combative message), there was clear understanding of his stance on the matter, and the interview data showed that this understanding created an expectation among team members for fair play behaviors out of respect for the opponent and a desire

to play and win "the right way." Additionally, throughout all eras, significant team members and what might be termed team "moral leaders" strongly influenced the team norms surrounding these behaviors (i.e., moral functioning). From Oscar and Everett in the late 1970s through Igor in the early 2000s, team leaders and top players passed on the notion that cheating was unacceptable. Furthermore, when it did occur, team leaders, such as Harmon from the early 1980s and Barry from the early 1990s, corrected teammates on line calls in practice and competitions, and discussed the issue with Coach Wilkinson with the hope of resolving it so that team would be represented in a more positive light. These results provide useful qualitative support to the quantitative research that indicates team norms and values and the collective strength of each are a significant predictor or protection against cheating and aggressive behaviors.

Moral atmosphere, moral functioning, and motivational climate. The present investigation did not include research questions to determine the alumni's understanding of the motivational climate of Gustavus Men's Tennis under Coach Wilkinson, or to assess their moral functioning. Yet, these concepts are so intertwined that the alumni often spoke of their moral functioning and the team and Coach Wilkinson's motivational climate in the process of describing their institutional valuing and collective norms. The present investigation supported two key results from this body of literature: (a) the moral atmosphere has a strong effect on athletes' moral functioning (e.g.: Kavussanu & Spray, 2006; Steinfeldt et al., 2011), and (b) a perceived mastery climate was correlated with team moral atmospheres that were less likely to approve of cheating and injurious acts than the team moral atmospheres in which the coach instituted a performance climate (e.g.: Miller et al., 2004; Ommundsen et al., 2003).

Despite the present investigation's lack of a formal measure of moral functioning, the responses from participants suggest that their moral functioning improved as a result of the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere. All participants described themselves, as well as many of their teammates, as having improved moral functioning related to a multitude of team norms such as respecting opponents and not questioning line calls. Furthermore, members from all 8 half-decade eras studied described Coach Wilkinson as promoting a mastery climate. They reported Coach Wilkinson's focus being on improving them as players and as people, from both the individual and team standpoints. They recognized his prioritization of effort, attitude and sportsmanship above competitive results, and continually noted that the team climate was cooperative and one of helping everyone on the entire team improve—not only the best players—through this consistent message over four decades. Even though the present case study of the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere did not explicitly measure motivational climate or moral functioning, the results do provide important qualitative support for results from the existing body of quantitative research on moral variables in sport.

Contribution to and Extension of Sport Moral Atmosphere Literature

The first main contribution of this study to the existing body of literature on the concept of moral atmosphere in sport is that it was the first study to examine moral atmosphere in a sport team community using Power et al. (1989) conception. When Kohlberg and colleagues made the transition from assessing individual moral reasoning to studying moral education through moral atmosphere, they used the group as the unit of analysis, studied the content of norms, and also examined the sub-concept of institutional value. The present study on the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Men's Tennis under head

coach Steve Wilkinson is the first study of moral atmosphere in sport to include all of these key features. Rather than simply showing or confirming that team norms are influential when it comes to a variety of behaviors related to morality in sport, the present study examined one team community's moral atmosphere as Kohlberg and colleagues did with the moral culture of schools that used the just community approach to conduct democratic education (Power et al., 1989). This dissertation study is the first application of its kind of Power et al. (1989) in sport moral atmosphere literature.

Team as unit of analysis. Previous sport moral atmosphere research has shown that team norms influence the moral functioning of individual team members. Shields and Bredemeier (2008) write: "It seems likely that a team's shared norms are important influences on the moral reasoning and behavior of individual team members" (p. 506). The results from the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere study extend the literature on moral atmosphere related to self-likelihood to aggress (e.g., Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Stephens 2000, 2001, 2004; Stephens & Bredemeier, 1996), and moral functioning and motivational climate (e.g.: Kavussanu et al., 2002; Miller et al., 2004; Ommundsen et al., 2003; Steinfeldt et al., 2011; Stuart & Ebbeck, 1995; Vallerand, Deshaies, & Cuerrier, 1997). These studies show that team norms are influential when it comes to aggression and other sport behaviors related to sport moral functioning. Yet they all deal with athletes from multiple sports and teams, and do not describe how those norms are understood and acted on—or not—by team members of a specific team. Kavussanu et al. (2002) and Kavussanu and Spray (2006) do study one collegiate sport, but they quantitatively assess the norms of multiple teams to show that the norms influence moral functioning rather than closely examining the moral cultures of the teams they compare.

The present study examined the case of one moral atmosphere, Gustavus Men's Tennis under the direction of Coach Wilkinson, in the same way that Kohlberg and colleagues (1989) assessed the moral culture of just community school programs. All of the results described above in Chapter Four show moral atmosphere profiles of the same program in eight consecutive half-decade time periods. This is the first study to examine a moral culture, over time, with measures that focus on the moral atmosphere characteristics of the team, not just individual members. As described in Chapter Three, key team members with knowledge of the program's moral atmosphere, as identified by the team members themselves, were interviewed in order to examine the team's understanding of its institutional value and collective norms in that time period, not simply the moral reasoning or functioning of individual interviewees.

***Real dilemmas*.** In order to assess the team community's moral atmosphere through its institutional value and collective norms, dilemmas were used that were based on membership in the Gustavus men's tennis program. Rather than using purely hypothetical dilemmas about tennis, the dilemmas were either identified by the interviewees themselves, or were constructed from dilemmas that real Gustavus players have (or could very likely have) experienced. (The alumni interview guide in Appendix J contains the dilemmas used in the study.) Using these dilemmas and exploring community members' responses about what they and their teammates would do in a given situation allowed for the team to become the unit of analysis. These dilemmas allowed for the pursuit, through the present instrumental case study, of this key question in moral atmosphere research:

> The question raised in moral atmosphere research is not "What should any moral agent do." But "What should and would a member of this school do?" We are interested in shared expectations, how they were formed, how they are understood, and how they relate to real-life problems and behavior. (Power et al., 1989, p. 108)

The current body of literature on sport and moral atmosphere does not address this question. Rather, it primarily pursues the question of whether or not a team member's understanding of her team norms impacts her moral functioning. The present study used real dilemmas of a specific community, and contributes to the existing literature a study that explores the shared expectations of a community, how they were formed and understood, and how they impact behavior of team members. For example, Perry, a member of the Gustavus teams of the late 1980s, described the norms of overruling a Gustavus doubles partner on a line call. He did not discuss his decision in terms of what any tennis player ought to do. Rather, his response was based on membership on *his* Gustavus team.

The use of dilemmas for this particular community was a crucial component in being able to examine this community's moral atmosphere and its impact on the moral functioning of its members. To my knowledge, this is the only sport study that identified a coach and program as having a moral curriculum, and then examined the team's understanding of its own moral atmosphere through, in part, team members' responses to dilemmas specific to their team community.

Norms of the community. Another unique contribution of the present study to existing sport moral atmosphere literature rooted in the team as the unit of analysis is that

the team's members identified the team norms that were assessed based on Power et al.'s (1989) moral atmosphere work. As described in Chapter Three, the 16 norms selected for analysis in terms of their content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage were discussed by at least 12 out of the 16 interviewees. The norms emerged from the team members' responses about their experiences and dilemmas. This differs from the current sport moral atmosphere literature where a predetermined set of behaviors based on cheating, aggression, or motivational climate are studied, and team norms—the content of which is not closely examined—are determined to be significant predictors of these behaviors (e.g.: Gibbons et al., 1995; Kavussanu & Spray, 2006; Steinfeldt et al., 2011). These researchers all explore the impact of team norms on individual moral reasoning and/or functioning as related to these specific, most often negative, sport behaviors. Yet they are not able to assess the culture of the teams from which these athletes and their norms come. The present study on the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere extends the existing body of research by studying one team's moral culture based on the norms that the team itself identified as being the norms of its community.

Moral atmosphere development over time. Another unique contribution of the present study is that it examined the development of the team moral atmosphere of this particular team community over an extended period of time. Assessing the institutional value and the same 16 collective norms for each half-decade over a 39-year period of time leads to another important contribution to the existing body of sport moral atmosphere literature. The present study is the first to have examined the development of one program's moral atmosphere over an extended period of time through the understanding of team members from different time-based eras.

Rather than a qualitative snapshot of one team at one place in time, this study allowed for the examination of the way in which the coach, who had the intentional goal of doing moral education in his team community (Wilkinson, 2014), went about his process of attempting to build the moral culture of his team community and improving the moral reasoning and behavior of individual team members over four decades. The study traced his understanding of his philosophy, and the evolution of his methods related to the team's moral atmosphere. As discussed below, this way of knowing has important ramifications for practitioners who seek to develop a moral culture and conduct moral education in and through sport.

This retrospective cross sectional approach is also crucial in being able to understand how a sport moral atmosphere develops and is understood by different team members at various stages of the program's development. For example, Oscar, a Gustavus team member from the late 1970s, and Lawrence, of the late 1990s, both said that they, and members of their teams, believed it was wrong to throw a racquet in anger during a tennis match. Oscar recalled that Coach Wilkinson was clear that he did not want racquet throwing to take place. Additionally, Oscar believed that doing so could be perceived as a sign of weakness, thereby giving a competitive advantage to the opponent. Yet he did not refrain from racquet throwing, and felt no need to do so based on his team membership. Lawrence, on the other hand, described that this behavior was problematic, not because it compromised his or his team's competitive advantage, but because it was behavior that let down his teammates when it came to their commitment to respecting opponents and competing with the highest standard of sportsmanship. Furthermore, it

was disrespectful to what the opponent was accomplishing, and could potentially communicate that this was acceptable for younger teammates to behave the same way. As evidenced by the differing responses of Oscar and Lawrence, team members' understandings of this norm developed significantly over the 39-year period of time under study. So, too, did the team's role in motivating team members' upholding of it. With this time-span approach to looking at one team's moral atmosphere, the team and its culture are further cemented as the point of analysis for the study. This is the first sport moral atmosphere study that examined the characteristics of a team's moral culture under the same coach over an extended period of time.

Assessing the content of team norms. Another important extension that the present study makes to the existing body of sport moral atmosphere literature is that the content of the team's collective norms were assessed based on Power et al.'s (1989) concept of moral atmosphere. As described in Chapter Two and above, the existing sport moral atmosphere literature focuses on team norms as being the most significant influencing social factor for moral reasoning and behavior (Shields & Bredemeier, 2008). This study extends the body of literature by being the first in sport to assess the content of a team's norms based on the four assessments Power et al. (1989) used in assessing just community schools when they developed the concept of moral atmosphere.

After using team members' interviews to identify the 16 most emergent and salient norms to study, those norms were assessed in terms of their type or content, degree of collectiveness, phase (level of expectation), and collective stage as related to Kohlberg's famous stages of moral reasoning in Power et al. (1989). This analysis provided much needed depth of understanding as to the content of the norms. Rather than

knowing only that the norms are influential for team members' reasoning and behavior, the analysis allowed for deepened knowledge of how the norms developed, how the team members understood them, how influential they were in terms of providing expectations for behavior, how the team upheld them, and how different norms were upheld with differing levels of group reasoning during each era of Coach Wilkinson's tenure.

Content of the norm. Understanding the content or type of the norm, based on Kohlberg and colleagues' system of analysis, was crucial in extending the literature of moral atmosphere in sport. This assessment allows for analysis of norms that go beyond poor sport behaviors such as cheating and aggression. Content of the norm allowed for the examination of norms that dictate positive behaviors in competition (e.g., respecting an opponent, or focusing on the next point after receiving a bad line call), and norms about how the community members interact with each other and function as a group. Without the team as the unit of analysis in the study, the latter would be impossible. Kohlberg and colleagues make possible a useful classification of a team's norms with their four types of norms: order, substantive fairness, procedural fairness, and community (Power et al., 1989).

In the present study, based on the advice of one of the creators of the coding scheme, all 16 norms were considered norms of community because upholding them was an act of upholding the community's identity and the intrinsic value of the community. As seen in Tables 2–10 and Figures 3–11, seven of the team's norms were norms of order, norms that promote productivity and protect the survival and orderly function of the group. Five were norms of substantive fairness, those that protect rights, privacy and freedom of individuals. Finally, two were norms of procedural fairness, processes

through which rules of the groups are made and enforced. Two norms fit only into the norm of community category. This classification into four types of norm content showed that a sport moral atmosphere consists of norms that govern both how a team behaves when they compete, and how they operate and function as a team community in relation to one another. In fact, seven norms dealt with on-court, competitive behavior; eight norms dealt with off-court, community functioning behaviors; and one norm—focusing on things within one's control—dealt with both competitive and communal functioning and behaviors. Prior to the present study, the sport moral atmosphere literature has focused only on competitive sport behaviors at the expense of the crucial aspect of how the team operates as a community. This category of norms was certainly a part of the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere. So, too, however, were norms that dealt with positive competitive behaviors such as respecting opponents and overruling a doubles partner's incorrect line-call, and norms that dealt with the functioning of the team as a community such as validating all team members regardless of age or ability level, welcoming newcomers as honored guests, hanging out together off of the tennis court, and adopting a team-first approach in which teammates are treated as brothers. The addition of these norms to sport moral atmosphere research is an important extension of the type of team norms that researchers of existing sport moral atmosphere literature have studied to this point.

Degree of collectiveness. Assessing the degree of collectiveness of team norms in the present study, as Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) did with the just community schools, added nuance and detail to the understanding of the team's norms and the team's moral culture. First, it is a crucial component of assessing community

norms of a moral atmosphere as Kohlberg and colleagues intended. It helped to make the project a true study of moral atmosphere. As another first in sport moral atmosphere literature, this assessment provided a means to determine how collectively the team held a given norm. Rather than simply knowing that team norms were influential for individual behavior, understanding how collectively (or not) the team held a norm was a key indication as to why a norm was or was not influential when it came to behavior. This measure also indicated what the team stood for and held most important among its norms.

Finally, examining the degree of collectiveness of team norms showed how many and which team norms were collective, and which norms fell short of being so. This made it possible to see where a given era of the team was stronger or more developed in terms of its collective norms, and which teams held various norms more or less collectively. As described above, the early 2000s had all 16 of the assessed norms in the collective degree range. Yet in the late 2000s, that number decreased to 13 with two of the 13 being at Degree 10, the lowest degree for a collective norm. This change in degree allowed for deepened understanding of the team's norms, their influence, and the overall team moral community. This type of analysis allowed for further examination of the influencing factors that changed from one era to the next that led to the drop in number of collectively held team norms and the overall regression of the moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989).

Phase of the norm. The phase of a given team norm was another crucial measure in providing depth of understanding in the study. As with the degree of collectiveness, this is the first sport moral atmosphere study to assess norms in this capacity. This

contributed to making it a moral atmosphere study in sport as Power et al. (1989) conceptualized the concept, rather than a study that referenced moral atmosphere when discussing the importance of team norms.

Understanding the phase of the norm was of tremendous importance in assessing the moral atmosphere of the team community. The key point of demarcation in the phase measure is between Phases 5 and 6. This is the point at which a norm moves from being expected by the community to being an expectation for behavior that is upheld. Assessing the phase of team norms showed which norms the community upheld and which norms did not influence behavior. Understanding the phase of norms showed how each norm was influential for producing expectations and behavior. This is an important extension of current sport moral atmosphere literature. Rather than simply knowing that team norms impact certain behaviors, assessing the phase of norms allows the researcher to understand, exactly, which norms in a given team culture are producing expectations for behavior and which norms are not. The phase of the norm was also a crucial point of comparison between different time periods of the team community, and a sign of whether or not team norms were becoming more or less influential on team and individual behavior over time. As the phases of norms increased over time, it was a sign that the team moral atmosphere was becoming stronger and more influential. If there was regression in the phase of a norm or norms from one time period to the next, it pointed to a decrease in the influence of the moral atmosphere on the moral behavior of team members. For example, in the early to late 2000s the team had all 16 of the assessed norms at Phase 6. In the late 2000s, while the team had only three fewer collective norms than did the early 2000s team, 12 of their norms dropped below Phase 6. This means that

three-quarters of the team norms were not leading to behaviors that were upheld. This type of analysis adds depth to sport moral atmosphere research and has important implications for future researchers that are discussed below.

Stage of the norm. The final measure of collective norms, according to Power et al. (1989), is the stage of the norm. Again, the present study is the first moral atmosphere study in sport to assess the stage of a team's collective norms. This extends the literature on sport moral atmosphere research by allowing the reasoning behind norms to be assessed from the perspective of the team, rather than simply assessing the moral reasoning stage of individual team members. Assigning collective stages to each of the team's norms assessed in the present study was a challenging endeavor. Power et al. (1989) note:

> Clearly any claim we wish to make for a collective stage must go beyond the intentions of the speaker to represent a collective norm and take into account reactions from other members of the group that might indicate whether or not the speaker's viewpoint is shared. (p. 135)

Yet taking on this challenge provides an important addition to sport moral atmosphere literature. It allowed for in-depth and nuanced understanding of team norms previously not examined in any existing sport moral atmosphere study.

The stage or stages of reasoning of a particular team on a given norm allowed for an important determination to be made about the group's reasoning based on Kohlberg and colleagues' scheme of assessment (Power et al., 1989). If the team reasoned at Stages 1 or 2 (the Pre-conventional Level) on a given norm, then the team promoted individual needs and interests above those of others and the community. If the team reasoned at

Stages 3 or 4 (the Conventional Level) on a given norm, then the team put the interests of others and the community at the forefront when working through dilemmas or functioning as a group. There were no norms in the present study for which a given era's teams reasoned decidedly at the Post-conventional Level. This may suggest that it is even more difficult for a group to reason at the Post-conventional Level than an individual. The collective reasoning behind norms was crucial in understanding the team's moral atmosphere and how it influenced community members.

Recall the racquet throwing example discussed earlier in this chapter, and the reasoning of both Oscar and Lawrence on the issue. Oscar's team reasoned at Stage 2 on this norm, whereas Lawrence's team was at Stage 3. Oscar thought very little, if at all, about the impact this negative behavior had on his teammates. He knew Coach Wilkinson disapproved and that it would help his own play if he could curtail it, but there was no sense that he should do so for the good of his team, or to meet the expectations of fellow team members. Lawrence also felt that the racquet should not be thrown in an expression of frustration. Yet he spoke less of it as being problematic for his own results and more of the negative impact it had on his team, and its reputation. Furthermore, he spoke of a commitment to others as impetus for avoiding the behavior. Ultimately, these teams both found the behavior to be wrong. Yet the reasoning on which they made this determination differed significantly, and this difference is closely related to their team moral atmospheres.

There currently exists no moral atmosphere research in sport that examines collective stage of a community's norms in this fashion. Assessing the collective stage of a team's norms is useful for understanding a particular norm and its influence, for

understanding the overall moral atmosphere of a team during a given time period, and for being able to compare the moral culture of an individual team at different stages of that program's lifespan and moral atmosphere development.

Assessing team institutional value. In addition to being the first study to assess the content, degree of collectiveness, phase, and stage of the norms of one team's moral atmosphere, the present study is also the first sport moral atmosphere to acknowledge and assess the second key component of the moral atmosphere construct as conceived by Power et al. (1989)—institutional value. The addition of the institutional value assessment further cements the present study as the first study to focus primarily on moral atmosphere in the body of sport moral literature as Kohlberg and colleagues originally conceived the concept (Power et al., 1989).

The inclusion of the institutional value measures of level of institutional valuing and stage of community allowed for a more complete assessment of the team's moral atmosphere. These measures provided deepened understanding of how team members valued their membership on the team, and how the team saw itself as a moral community. As described in Chapter Four, these measures of institutional value were important in telling the story of the Gustavus men's tennis team's moral atmosphere. The eras in which institutional valuing and stage of community were the highest were also the eras with the most collective, highest phase, and highest stage norms. The eras with lower levels of institutional value had fewer collective norms, fewer norms at Phase 6, and fewer norms at the Conventional Level.

Institutional value was an important component in the present moral atmosphere study because it allowed for assessment of the team as a community. It showed how team

members valued their membership in the team community and set the stage for examining how this membership related to the team's norms. Without assessing institutional value, it is difficult to assess what a member of the Gustavus Tennis community—or any moral community—would do in a given dilemma or set of circumstances based on their membership in that particular community. Understanding how the team viewed itself as a community and how team members valued their membership in that community allowed for a more complete profile of a given era's moral atmosphere, for comparison between the different eras of the program, and the ability to see the overall development of the team as a community during the course of Coach Wilkinson's tenure as head coach. Ultimately, including institutional value in the study of how former team members understood their team's moral atmosphere improved the depth of understanding of the team's moral culture while allowing for the present study to be moral atmosphere research in the same vein as that of Power et al. (1989).

Qualitative sport moral atmosphere research. Another important contribution of the present moral atmosphere study on the Gustavus Tennis team from 1970-2009 is the use of qualitative methods. This qualitative instrumental case study (Stake, 1994; Yin, 2009) answered the call of previous qualitative sport moral research to complement the quantitative research on sport moral variables with more qualitative research (Long, Pantaleon, Bruant, & d'Arripe-Longueville, 2006; Tod & Hodge, 2001). Authors of previous qualitative work in sport morality literature describe the importance of qualitative research in sport morality study to examining the complex processes that underlie the connections described by quantitative studies. One of these key patterns, as discussed above, is that team norms, often referred to as moral atmosphere, are one of the

most important social influences on the moral reasoning and functioning of team members (Shields & Bredemeier, 2008). In the present study on the Gustavus moral atmosphere qualitative methods were used to examine one sport moral atmosphere and to provide depth of understanding on the development of that moral atmosphere through institutional value and collective norms. Essentially, qualitative methods were employed to explore the moral atmosphere of the team from the perspective of team members. In the process, the depth, detail, and narrative necessary for examining the complex nature of a team's institutional valuing and collective norms were provided.

The present qualitative moral atmosphere study adds to the overall sport morality body of literature by providing a qualitative study that extends and examines a key finding of previous quantitative research: team norms influence individual moral reasoning and functioning. More specifically, it extends the body of literature on sport moral atmosphere literature by qualitatively examining the moral atmosphere of one team whose coach attempted to conduct moral education through his team's moral culture. This is the first qualitative sport moral atmosphere study of one team, in one sport, at one level, of this kind. The implication of this and the other unique contributions of this study for future sport moral atmosphere research follow a discussion of the key limitations of the present study.

Limitations

Despite its unique contributions to the existing body of literature on moral atmosphere in sport, the present study has some important limitations. These limitations are discussed in the following sections.

One moral atmosphere. The first limitation of the present dissertation study is that it cannot be used to generalize about all moral atmospheres in sport. As a single, instrumental, qualitative case study (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Yin, 2009), the present study tells the story, in detail, of one program's moral atmosphere to help illumine the concept of the moral atmosphere as constructed by Power et al. (1989). As described above, the study deepens the understanding of the moral atmosphere concept, but it only tells the story of one case, one team's moral atmosphere. The results cannot be generalized to moral atmospheres outside of the Gustavus men's tennis program during the head coaching tenure of Steve Wilkinson.

Other moral atmospheres will vary in a number of ways including, but not limited to: sport, gender, age, level, geographic location, individual coach characteristics, individual player characteristics, size of team, time period, and the extent to which the team and/or coach prioritizes engagement in moral education in and through sport. The present case study explored one moral atmosphere, primarily through the experiences of its own members, who were college-age, male tennis players who chose to become a member of a Division III tennis program at a small, church-affiliated college in the upper-Midwest, and to play for a coach who was dedicated to conducting moral education. If any of these characteristics were to be altered, it is likely that team members' understanding of their moral atmosphere would be different than what emerged in the study. Therefore, while the present case study illumines the concept of moral atmosphere in the sporting context, it cannot be used to generalize about all sport moral atmospheres.

Retrospective understanding of team moral atmosphere. A second key limitation of the present study is that all of the team members interviewed for the study were speaking retrospectively about their participation in the program, their reasoning about dilemmas, and their understanding of their team's moral atmosphere through their institutional valuing and collective norms. Because Coach Wilkinson retired as head coach in 2009, and the study surrounds the moral atmosphere of his teams, there was no way to observe the behavior of the interviewees in their team community while they were active members of the team. A study of the current team would have required me to interview and analyze athletes for whom I serve as head coach. This could have potentially led to a number of problems, including them telling me what they think are the "right" answers when describing the team culture, moral functioning, and responses to dilemmas, and me avoiding negative case analysis when analyzing and presenting data. To avoid interviewing my own current players and to conduct a study that encompassed Coach Wilkinson's entire career as head coach, I chose to interview former team members. I made this choice, admittedly, at the expense of being able to study a team whose moral atmosphere could also be observed in present action.

Given that all interviewees were alumni of the program, their memories of their experiences, how their teammates interacted, how they and their teammates would have responded to certain dilemmas, their varying levels of connection with and support of the current team, and the evolution of their relationships with Coach Wilkinson and each other, are all important factors to consider when interpreting the results of the study. All interviewees have been away from the program for at least five years and are interpreting their experiences in light of what they have done in their careers and lives since that time.

Their understanding of the team's moral atmosphere and its impact on their team community members likely involved more reflection than if they had been interviewed during their time on the team. In addition to added reflection on their experiences, the interviewees being alumni also impacted, in some cases, what they were able to recall.

Despite the honesty that I perceived each interviewee to use in his responses, the retrospective position from which the team members discussed their understanding of the team's moral atmosphere and the expectations it placed on them as a result of their team membership is a limitation of the present study. Furthermore, interviewing the team members after they had graduated from the program allowed for their reflection of their various roles on the team after their careers were over. Essentially, they were less able to describe their understandings of the team's norms and their institutional valuing of the team when they were freshmen or underclassmen than they would have been if I could have interviewed them during their freshmen and sophomore years—before they moved into leadership roles, as juniors and seniors, that many of them eventually occupied. The trade-off for this retrospective perspective was the opportunity to study Coach Wilkinson's team as a purposeful sample of a program that intentionally conducted moral education over a long period of time. Despite the rich data and insight to the concept of moral atmosphere (Power et al., 1989) that the sample provided, the retrospective perspective of the interviewees remains a limitation of the study.

Limited number of interviewees. A third limitation of the present sport moral atmosphere dissertation study of the Gustavus men's tennis team's moral atmosphere is the limited number of interviewees. The 16 interviews with former team members allowed for a suitable sample size and a tremendous amount of interview data for a

single, instrumental, qualitative case study (Yin, 2009). Interviewing two influential team members that the rest of the team members, through peer nomination (Hamilton & Monson, 2012; Rule & Bebeau, 2005), believed could best speak about the team's moral culture was suitable for the study, but not as informative as talking with all team members would have been. Furthermore, if different team members had been selected by their peers for the study, the understanding of the program and its atmosphere would have differed from the results presented in Chapter Four. The analysis of each time period's team moral atmosphere was dependent upon the perspective of two influential and knowledgeable team members who were selected by their peers. The peer nomination process added validity to the study of the culture through these "encultured informants" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), but it could not guarantee that all members of the team from the same era would have spoken about their team's moral atmosphere in exactly the same way. Their interviews and the analysis of them allowed for thick description of the Gustavus men's tennis moral atmosphere, but it must be noted that this description is limited by the number of interviewees and the individual characteristics and experiences of each participant.

Collective norm categories. A fourth limitation of the present study was the predetermined scheme for assessing the content of the norm that Power et al. (1989) used in studying the moral atmospheres of just community schools. In most regards, the measures for institutional value and collective norms were ideal for studying the moral atmosphere of Gustavus tennis under Coach Wilkinson. Levels of institutional value, stage of community, degree of collectiveness, and stage of norms were all suitable and excellent tools for assessing the program's moral atmosphere. They transferred well from

the setting of democratic schools to the setting of a college tennis team in terms of their usefulness in analyzing and interpreting the interview transcripts and serving as a framework for telling the story of the team's moral culture. They provided the depth and specificity of analysis that allowed for many of the study's key contributions to the sport moral atmosphere literature.

Content of the norm. The measure for categorizing and analyzing the content of the norms, however, proved to be less adaptable to the competitive sport setting. Norms of order, substantive fairness, community, and procedural fairness were somewhat limiting in analyzing the team norms that emerged from the data. The order and community measures were useful in terms of showing how the team functioned as a community, but with every norm being a norm of community in some capacity, it did not allow for distinction between types of community norms. Both types of fairness norms were somewhat applicable to the way in which the team interacted with one another and how they competed with each other and with outside competition. Yet they were not designed for analyzing a moral atmosphere that influences and is shaped by competition with teammates and players from other teams. As discussed below in the section on future sport moral atmosphere research, a slight adaptation of Kohlberg and colleagues' (Power et al., 1989) coding and analysis of the content of norms to include fairness related to the competitive aspect of the sports setting would enhance future sport moral atmosphere study.

Phase of the norm. Similarly, the scale for phase of norm was somewhat problematic in the sport and team contexts. First, Phases 4 and 5 seemed to be out of ascending order. Power et al. (1989) describe Phases 4 and 5 as the phases of collective

norm expectation. Phase 4 is where the norm is accepted and expected. There is no mention of following the norm at Phase 4. In Phase 5, the norm is expected but not followed. Intuitively, it seems as if Phase 5, where there is expectation but no following, should precede the phase where the norm is accepted and expected. This made coding the phases of team norms somewhat confusing when there were expectations that accompanied the norm.

Additionally, the phase scale was limited by the order of Phases 6 and 7. In Phase 6, the norm is expected and upheld through persuasion. In Phase 7, though, the norms were expected and upheld through reporting. This reporting seemed to stem from a school setting in which students would report to the teacher or authority figure when a classmate did not uphold a particular norm. This "tattling" appeared to me and the additional coders to be lower level upholding of the norms than did upholding based on persuasion from fellow community members. Because Phase 7, the reporting stage, was of little use in a team setting, one author of the coding scheme advised me to use Phase 6 to describe norms that were accepted, expected, and upheld.

In addition to Phases 4 and 5, as well as 6 and 7 appearing to be in reverse order, the phase scale also seemed to be missing a final phase. This non-existent Phase 8 would have been useful in identifying a norm that team members described their team upholding through modeling or some type of encultured acceptance. There were some norms that team members upheld because teammates encouraged or persuaded them to do so. Yet there were other norms that we coded as Phase 6, but that team members upheld simply because they believed in the norms or the norms had become extremely collective and were a part of the team's identity. For example, Lawrence asserted that his teams would

not drink leading up to a big match. No one persuaded team members to uphold this norm. They simply upheld it because they believed in it. The phase scale currently lacks a phase for describing these norms that were upheld without the need for persuasion. In the section below on implications for future sport moral atmosphere research, some possibilities for adding this eighth phase to the scale are described.

Overall, the use of Kohlberg and colleagues' (1989) coding and analysis paradigm was a unique and useful contribution to the present study. The only exception is the assessment and analysis of the content and phase of team norms. This was somewhat limited by the categories for content and ordering of phases that Power et al. (1989) used in assessing the norms of just community schools.

Insider positionality. A final limitation to of the present investigation is my unique insider positionality as lead researcher, former team member, and current head coach. While I was intentionally open and honest about my positionality at every stage of the study in order to responsibly maximize the strengths my positionality provided me in conducting a valid, reliable, and useful study of the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere, it must also be acknowledged that my positionality presents a limitation. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) argue that researching and writing about one's own community will produce engaged writing. Creswell (2003, 2007) presents a myriad of validation strategies, many of which I used in the present study and described in Chapter Three, to minimize bias when conducting backyard research (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Furthermore, I cited, described and drew upon examples of responsible backyard research from Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989), Wacquant (2004), and Holt and Sparkes, 2001) to serve as exemplars for the present investigation. Still, my positionality as an insider limits

my ability to see the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere as an outsider with a less biased perspective, and must be noted as a limitation to the present study.

Implications for Future Research of Sport Moral Atmospheres

The results of the present study on the moral atmosphere of Gustavus Tennis from 1970–2009 have important implications for future researchers of moral atmosphere in the sport context. These key implications are presented in the sections that follow. The chapter then finishes with a discussion of implications for practitioners of sport wishing to develop moral atmospheres in collegiate sport team communities.

Examining additional sport moral atmospheres. The present study is the first to examine the moral atmosphere of a team community as Power et al. (1989) conceived the concept of moral atmosphere. In order to learn more about the concept of moral atmosphere in sport, and to understand more about how sport moral atmospheres differ based on different team characteristics, future qualitative moral atmosphere studies of different teams in different sports, levels of play, ages, coaching styles, geographic areas, and genders are needed. As more sport moral atmosphere studies that assess team institutional value and content, degree, phase, and stage of team norms are conducted, researchers can better understand the role of moral atmosphere in moral education in and through sport, and how to assist practitioners in creating high functioning sport moral atmospheres.

As future researchers examine different moral atmospheres, it will be important to adjust the dilemmas they discuss with team members so that they are as specific to and real for the team being studied as possible. In the present study, Gustavus men's tennis team members spoke of dilemmas that actually occurred for their teams, or that were very

similar, if hypothetical, to situations that could likely occur during the career of a Gustavus tennis team member. My experiences in the program allowed me to adjust dilemmas to make them specific to the Gustavus team, and to ask certain interviewees about dilemmas I knew they had experienced. This allowed for engaging interview responses from interviewees and robust data. If future researchers do not have the type of prior knowledge of the sport and/or team that they are researching, they should make every attempt to learn about key dilemmas and issues specific to that team community prior to conducting semi-structured interviews. This will allow for the norms and institutional value assessments that emerge to be in response to discussions of scenarios that are specific to the real-life issues of that particular team. Consequently, future moral atmosphere studies will be able to address the key question of moral atmosphere research, i.e., what would and should a member of this particular community do in a given situation (Power et al., 1989).

Include both components of moral atmosphere. In addition to examining different team moral atmospheres, future researchers should continue to conduct studies that assess both institutional value and collective norms of team moral atmospheres (Power et al., 1989). The concurrent assessment of both components is crucial for a complete understanding of a team's moral culture. It provides a detailed picture of how and why specific team norms are, or are not, influential on the behavior of team members based on their team membership.

As described in Chapter Two, the entire body of research that includes moral atmosphere in sport lacks assessments of institutional value. Until the present study, sport moral atmosphere essentially meant team norms only. Yet without levels of institutional

value and stage of community assessments, researchers fail to gain an understanding of the team as moral community. Understanding how team members value their team community and how the team operates as a community allows researchers to pursue knowledge of how a member of a specific team community morally reasons and acts. Future sport moral atmosphere studies should include both measures of institutional value in order to assess moral atmosphere as Kohlberg and colleagues (Power et al., 1989) created the concept, and to provide the most complete understanding possible of a given team moral atmosphere.

In addition to assessing institutional value, future sport moral atmosphere research should assess a team's collective norms using all four of the measures Kohlberg and colleagues used to assess the moral atmospheres of the just community schools (Power et al., 1989). If the content, degree, phase, and stage of norms are not assessed, there is no way to determine how and why various types of norms are influential for the community and its members. Furthermore, these measures can show the key areas for improvement in the moral atmosphere being studied at a given time. For example, if a team has norms high in degree of collectiveness but low in terms of their phase and stage, the team's moral atmosphere has different needs for improvement than a team possessing norms with low degrees of collectiveness. In another case, a team might be very strong in norms of a certain type or content such as community or order, and weaker in the fairness norms. Consistent applications of all four team norm assessments for different teams' moral atmospheres will produce more detailed moral atmosphere studies of team moral atmospheres that can then be compared and contrasted with one another. This will also allow for comparison of norms within the same team so that researchers can begin to

examine the characteristics of teams that are strong in some types of norms and weaker in others, and suggest ways to improve these teams' moral atmospheres so that more of their norms are high in degree, phase and stage.

Ultimately, researchers need to conduct sport moral atmosphere studies that focus on the team as the unit of analysis in order to understand the role of the moral atmosphere in helping teams and coaches to morally educate team members and transform teams into moral communities. Assessing institutional value and all four collective norm measures for a particular team is a crucial means for allowing the team, rather than individual team members, to be the primary unit of analysis in moral atmosphere study, a hallmark of moral atmosphere study according to Power et al. (1989).

Adjust the content and phase of norm assessments to fit sport moral atmosphere. As described above, the concept of moral atmosphere emerged as Power et al. (1989) assessed the just community approach in schools. I found both measures for institutional value and two of the four of their measures for collective norms to fit extremely well in assessing the moral atmosphere of the Gustavus men's tennis program. The four types of norms (order, community, substantive fairness, and procedural fairness) and the scale for phase of the norms did not, however, transfer as well to a community that involved both functioning of the community and competition with other teams.

Future research will be better served by adjusting the classifications of norm content to include norms of team/community functioning, and norms of play/competition. This would replace the categories of norms of community, order, substantive fairness, and procedural fairness (Power et al., 1989). This modification will provide more insightful and meaningful classification and assessment of team norms when examining

team moral atmospheres in competitive sport settings. This could, in turn, make for easier application of moral atmosphere research for practitioners looking to develop or enhance the functioning of a team moral atmosphere in order to conduct moral education for team members. This is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

As described above in the limitation section, future sport moral atmosphere researchers should consider revising and adding to the scale for measuring the phase of norms. I propose a re-ordering of the phases so that the present Phases 4 and 5 are reversed in order to have norms that are expected but not followed positioned a phase below norms that are accepted and expected. A similar reversal should occur between Phases 6 and 7 to position norms upheld through persuasion at a higher phase than norms that are upheld through reporting.

The key addition to the phase scale for future sport moral atmosphere research should be a "Phase 8." I propose that at Phase 8, norms are upheld through "encultured self-regulation." At this highest phase, team members have been so thoroughly influenced by the team's moral atmosphere that upholding the accepted and expected team norm now happens instinctively. The need for reporting or persuasion to ensure that a particular norm is upheld is no longer necessary. The norm is upheld simply because of team membership. Team members would uphold collective Phase 8 norms on their own, because it is "who we are" and/or "what we do" in this community. Phase 8 norms would likely coincide with a high degree of collectiveness, collective reasoning of Stages 3 and above, and Levels 3 and 4 of institutional value and stage of community. Essentially, Phase 8 norms would be a characteristic of a team with a high functioning moral

atmosphere where team members self-police in order to uphold norms after an extended period of enculturation.

Detailed examination of emergent moral atmosphere development mechanisms. The present study yielded interesting results regarding the ways in which team members developed their sense of value for the Gustavus team and their understanding of team norms. Three emergent mechanisms that contributed to both institutional valuing and communication of team norms were key team leaders, the coach, and coach and team narratives that promoted the importance of team norms.

Team leaders. In each of the eight half-decade time periods of Gustavus Men's Tennis examined in the present study, interviewees described key team leaders and top players as influential in determining the extent of that team's institutional valuing, and the degree, phase, and stage of its norms. If a team leader was on board with Coach's philosophy and the team norms, this had a major influence on the team's moral atmosphere. Similarly if a team leader or top player struggled to understand or uphold team norms, or contributed to the team reasoning at the Pre-conventional Level, it had a detrimental effect on the team's moral atmosphere. Future moral atmosphere research that focuses on the role of key team leaders, possibly by identifying and interviewing them about the team's moral culture, could be an extremely useful extension of the present study. In the present study, alumni were not asked to nominate team leaders for interviews, but rather to nominate teammates who could best describe the team's moral atmosphere. In some cases the nominees were top players in the lineup and/or important team leaders, but in some cases they were not. Given the importance of team leaders and top players in terms of moral atmosphere influence in this case study, future researchers

could benefit from specifically seeking out the perspective of team leaders and top players in examining a given team's sport moral atmosphere.

Exploration of the characteristics of team leaders, their understanding of team norms and levels of institutional value, and their impact on the team's moral atmosphere would provide depth of understanding of the team's moral atmosphere for researchers, and would prove useful for practitioners, as discussed below. Developing research questions to assess the role and moral identity of these influential team "moral leaders" will be an important addition to future sport moral atmosphere research. It will also be important to add theoretical frameworks for analyzing these leaders in the context of the moral atmosphere. Narvaez (2008) on moral expertise and MacIntyre (1984) on an experienced and virtuous practitioner could potentially provide useful frameworks to make sense of data gained specifically to assess the role of key leaders in shaping a team moral atmosphere and helping to morally educate others through it. Assessing team leaders as moral experts with highly developed intuitive and deliberative moral reasoning (Narvaez, 2008) could potentially lead to deeper understanding of the importance and roles of key team leaders, such as Harmon from the present study, in developing high functioning team moral atmospheres. Similarly, examining the role of leaders Harmon, Lawrence, or Nigel, or Everett through the lens of MacIntyre (1984) would allow researchers to better understand how they participated in the social practice of being a part of the team moral atmosphere as new members who learned how the community operated and then moved the community forward in a moral manner when they became respected leaders.

The coach as a mechanism of moral atmosphere development. Throughout the study it was impossible to remove the role of Coach Wilkinson from the assessment of the alumni's understanding of their team moral atmospheres. Coach Wilkinson was simply too intertwined with the development of the team moral atmosphere in each time period. The results of the present investigation allow for logical inferences to be made about Coach Wilkinson's role in the development of the moral atmosphere, but research questions dedicated to detailed analyses of the coach's role in shaping a team's moral atmosphere would advance this study in particular, and all future moral atmosphere studies. As with team leaders, these research questions and the analysis of the data they yield could be based on theoretical frameworks such as Narvaez (2008) and MacIntyre (1984).

The role of narrative. Another important extension of the present study for future research would be an examination of the coach and team's use of narrative to promote the team norms and institutional valuing amongst team members. Team members frequently pointed to Coach Wilkinson's use of narrative about past and current team members to help the team understand that he prioritized moral behavior above winning, and to inspire them to choose to follow norms along these lines. These stories became legends for the team, and were often handed down in evolved forms from one generation to the next. They made clear Coach's expectations while helping cement as collective the particular norm or norms that the story illumined. Furthermore, the desire to be the subject of one of Coach Wilkinson's positive stories inspired team members to uphold the norms when facing dilemmas, and educated them on the team's and tradition's identity. A research question to examine, and a more detailed means of analyzing the content and delivery of

these narratives in the Gustavus men's tennis program would be useful in identifying this mechanism, if it exists, in other programs. Exploration of this mechanism in other team moral atmospheres would be useful in helping practitioners learn to construct and deliver similar narratives in order to enhance their team members' understanding of their team's moral atmosphere.

Examining a current team's moral atmosphere. One of the key limitations of the present moral atmosphere study is that it explores the team members' retrospective understanding of the program's moral atmosphere. Future moral atmosphere research should examine a moral atmosphere from the perspective of current team members. This would allow researchers to interview team members at various stages of their involvement in the team community so that an increasingly well-rounded perspective of a given year or era's team could be obtained. A higher percentage of team members could be interviewed to examine a current team moral atmosphere, and it could lead to more detailed descriptions of responses to dilemmas taking place in close proximity to the time of the interviews. Furthermore, the study of team members during their time in a team community would also bring about the possibility of collecting data via observation of team members' behaviors. Through this direct participant observation in conjunction with assessing the team's institutional valuing and collective norms based on interview responses, researchers will be able to provide added understanding of the team's moral atmosphere and its impact on the moral education of team members.

Moral atmosphere, moral functioning, and moral identity. A final, important implication for researchers in the wake of the present study is the addition of a moral functioning and moral identity as assessments of individual team members following a

study of a team's moral atmosphere. If a current team's moral atmosphere were examined, as the Gustavus Men's Tennis moral atmosphere has been in the present investigation, future researchers could add to the study by conducting pre- and post-testing of the moral functioning and moral identity of individual team members to determine the impact that the team moral atmosphere has on improving moral functioning of these team members. Despite the lack of research questions in the present investigation designed to examine the long-term impact of the team moral atmosphere on the moral functioning and moral identity development of team members, the majority of participants discussed personal growth and improved moral functioning and identity in themselves and teammates (although not in those terms) as a result of team membership.

For Kohlberg and colleagues, "…the aim of developmental moral education has to be a change in the life of the school as well as in the development of individual students" (Power et al., 1989, p. 20). A study that examines both the development of a team's moral atmosphere over a period of time while also examining the moral functioning of individual team members before they enter the team community and after they have been a part of the team community for a certain amount of time would allow for examination of both of these objectives.

In the present study of the Gustavus men's tennis program moral atmosphere, the pattern of improvement of the team's moral atmosphere emerged over time. Yet the only evidence of improvement in the individual moral reasoning and behavior of team members was anecdotal evidence from the interviewees about themselves or their teammates. The addition of a more formal assessment of individual moral reasoning of multiple (or all) team members in a given year or over a given set of years would provide

more useful data that could speak not only to the improvement of the team as a moral community, but also to the impact that community had on the moral development of individual team members—the second key goal of moral education through moral atmosphere, according to Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989).

Further moral atmosphere research could also extend to include the moral functioning of team members outside the domain of the team community in addition to their moral functioning within the context of competition and intra-team functioning. This would be an application of the "leading edge hypothesis" described by Power et al. (1989). They write that the hypothesis "…implies that the students may first develop their moral reasoning competence in dealing with school-related problems, and later…extend this competence more generally to the content areas sampled in Kohlberg's standard, decontextualized dilemmas" (p. 272). Kohlberg and colleagues note that the creation of a moral atmosphere is a move toward creating the ideal environment for moral education. The same is true with team moral atmospheres. A future study that examined the moral functioning of team members in other, less ideal, environments before and after their involvement in a high-functioning team moral atmosphere would be extremely informative in understanding the transferability of moral education in and through sport by way of the moral atmosphere.

Autonomy. Finally, based on the results of the present study, future sport moral atmosphere research should include research questions and analysis of autonomy as a result of membership in a team moral atmosphere. Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989) only reconsidered Durkheim's (1925) cultural socialization as a useful addition to his model of moral education when after autonomy was added to the model. Kohlberg relied on

Dewey (1916, 1959b) for the reconsideration of Durkheim that allowed him to integrate autonomy with Durkheim's emphasis on social groups as the units of moral development. Dewey (1938) viewed the social group as the only place suitable for the development of the individuality that allows the cultivation of the autonomy and prevents the group conformity that Kohlberg initially rejected in Durkheim.

The results of the present study suggest the need for further examination of autonomy in the Gustavus men's tennis program under Coach Wilkinson. Clearly the values of justice and freedom permeate his teaching and philosophy (Wilkinson, 2014). On occasion, interviewees described themselves or teammates taking charge in certain situations to uphold various team norms. Recall that in the early 2000s, when the program was experiencing its highest functioning moral atmosphere, Albert described the team being in almost an ideal state where upperclassmen led the team and upheld team norms, educating and inspiring other team members as they saw fit. Lawrence described making the team their own and building their family based on the lessons (norms) of the program. Coach Wilkinson was a creator of the environment that fostered this team culture during these time-periods, but the leaders saw to it that the norms were upheld.

Despite this leadership arrangement that saw team members driving norm-based behaviors during the eras of the more highly functioning moral atmospheres, no data emerged involving autonomy. Through Coach Wilkinson's (1989, 2014) writings, and my insider positionality, I am aware that he had a goal of preparing team members athletically and ethically on a daily basis in practice so that they would be able to face tactical, mental, emotional, and moral dilemmas on their own during competition. Yet without research questions designed to assess the level of individual autonomy team

members experienced as they were a part of the team moral atmosphere, there is no way to truly know if members of the Gustavus men's tennis moral atmosphere, or any moral atmosphere being examined, experienced Kohlberg's (Power et al., 1989) goal of developing autonomy through moral education via moral atmosphere.

Implications for Practitioners Seeking Moral Education In and Through Sport

In addition to the above important implications for future sport moral atmosphere research, the present study also has important implications for practitioners of sport, especially coaches, who strive to morally educate athletes through high-functioning team moral atmospheres. These key applications are presented and discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Intentional coaching for moral atmosphere development and moral education. The first key implication that emerges from the present study is that coaches must be intentional in creating a moral community if they wish to morally educate team members through the team's moral atmosphere. In the early years of his coaching career, Coach Wilkinson was not intentional about creating a moral community. He had a philosophy that prioritized sportsmanship and had his own expectations for how players should conduct themselves on the tennis court. Yet the results from the present study show that he did not begin to promote the team as a moral community until the early 1980s at the earliest. Once he became more intentional with his focus on the team as a moral community that could effectively deliver his philosophy to individual team members, the team moral atmosphere began to improve. The following sections describe important steps coaches can take to develop their team moral atmosphere based on the findings of the present study of the Gustavus men's tennis team moral atmosphere.

Teach and model a philosophy that prioritizes moral behavior above winning.

The results of the present study suggest that a primary tactic for coaches wishing to create a high-functioning moral atmosphere is to develop, teach, and model a philosophy that values moral behavior above winning. By the 1980s, Gustavus team members understood that Coach Wilkinson was set on "winning the right way" and pursued high-level tennis while prioritizing sportsmanship. He discussed this approach with team members and shared stories of key individuals and moments in team history where the philosophy was put into action. He coached them to do it on the court in both practice and matches, and modeled it with his own behavior when competing as both a player and coach (Wilkinson, 2014). Over time, this philosophy became a team norm and a part of the team's identity. According to results from the present study, Wilkinson became increasingly intentional in communicating his philosophy to the team. Team members from each era that he coached, especially from the 1980s on, recognized that he was both intentional and consistent with his message of sportsmanship, respecting opponents, and focusing on controllable elements above winning.

The results of the present study suggest that coaches wishing to create a moral atmosphere need to be clear with their athletes that moral behavior is more important than winning, and that negative competitive behaviors, such as cheating or disrespecting opponents, are not acceptable because they are counter to the team culture. Coaches must then be committed to modeling this philosophy and to helping players understand and execute it through feedback and discussion. Espousing a philosophy, as Wilkinson eventually did, that places moral behavior above winning is a crucial preliminary step in developing a moral atmosphere that can be a context for moral education.

Recruit athletes and potential moral leaders who will take up the cause. With his philosophy in place, Coach Wilkinson was able to get it to take hold with team members and begin to have them turn it into the team's culture through his key team leaders. The results of the study show that in the early stages of the team's moral atmosphere, key leaders who were not entirely on board with Coach Wilkinson's commitment to behavior led to a team that had lower levels of institutional valuing and fewer norms in the collective range. The teams with the highest functioning moral atmospheres had leaders who believed in Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, who were committed to making it an important component of the team's identity, and to holding other team members accountable for upholding the norms that stemmed from it.

The first part of this process was the ascension of Scotty into a leadership role. Scotty, according to his teammates, fully bought into Coach Wilkinson's philosophy and put it into action. Because of his playing success, he became a catalyst in bringing the team together around Coach Wilkinson's approach. In this case, Coach Wilkinson was fortunate more than he was intentional. Scotty was not recruited as a top prospect, yet he developed into the team's top player by the end of his career. His example had a tremendous impact on the teams of his era developing a moral atmosphere, but Coach Wilkinson did not specifically recruit him to have this impact. Over time, the interviews showed that Coach Wilkinson was slightly more intentional about who he brought into the program to serve as community leaders. Yet it seems he was more reliant on molding—and letting the team community mold—future leaders who arrived and bought into the team moral atmosphere. He was even so confident in his approach, and eventually in the team community's ability to bring challenging team members into the

fold and on board, that he would sometimes welcome individuals in need of great improvement in terms of moral behavior and buy-in to the team philosophy. Some of these individuals proved to be great success stories. They emerged as key leaders of the team and its moral atmosphere. Others were neither fully absorbed into nor significantly impacted by that moral atmosphere (Wilkinson, 2014).

Given the importance of key leaders in the shaping and strengthening of the team moral atmosphere in different eras, collegiate coaches wishing to create strong team moral atmospheres should recruit athletes who have individual moral characteristics and prior experience as team leaders. Recruiting and building teams at the collegiate level is certainly a challenging endeavor when academic, athletic, social, and financial concerns all factor into convincing a high-school-aged athlete to join a coach's school and athletic program. Yet too often, as a result of a win-at-all-costs mentality, coaches recruit athletes based solely on athletic ability and not at all on what they may or may not contribute to the team community. Having an established team moral atmosphere will likely attract prospects that are keen on becoming a part of that moral atmosphere. Recruiting leaders who show excellent communication skills, high-level moral reasoning, and an ability to genuinely connect and build relationships with both coaches and teammates would be a useful approach to helping create a high functioning moral atmosphere. The challenges in executing this approach are great in the context of college recruiting. However, even an exercise as basic as presenting a prospect with a series of dilemmas involving competitive behaviors and team community issues or functioning would give willing coaches a preliminary look at the moral reasoning of the individual, and a sense of how he or she might fit into the team moral atmosphere. The leaders of a team moral

atmosphere are certainly influenced during their early years in that atmosphere as well as the coaching staff. No matter how much early leadership aptitude a given prospect were to show, she or he would require a great deal of training and experience to become a leader of a team's moral atmosphere because that atmosphere is so specifically related to the norms and institutional value of that specific team. Yet dilemma discussions and subsequent analysis during the recruiting process would be a major step forward in allowing coaches to do some screening for moral functioning and leadership skills to determine if a prospect were a good fit for a given collegiate team's moral atmosphere. This would be a more intentional path toward constructing and maintaining a high functioning moral atmosphere than simply recruiting talented athletes and hoping that the existing moral atmosphere is strong enough to morally educate them.

Empower current team leaders through identity and dilemma discussion. Once the team had strong individual leaders who believed in Coach Wilkinson's philosophy, he began to empower these leaders in important ways. He communicated with the leaders to better understand how to connect with team members, and how to work through dilemmas and behavioral problems that arose. He also engaged these leaders in discussions about the team's identity in competition against other teams, and in relation to one another. This engagement and empowerment was an important factor that allowed the team to grow as a moral community. Team members had a say in developing the team's norms and in determining how they would be lived out. The Gustavus teams in the study with leaders involved in these discussions and interactions with Coach Wilkinson, had norms that became more collective and that led to greater expectations for behaviors. These teams also had greater institutional value and were higher-stage communities than

those in which Coach Wilkinson and key leaders clashed as he tried to achieve buy-in on his own.

These results suggest that coaches striving to build high functioning sport moral atmospheres need to connect with leaders to identify team members who struggle to adopt team norms and use leaders to help devise useful strategies to connect and develop these struggling leaders. Coaches also need to communicate with leaders about specific dilemmas and behaviors that challenge team norms in order to find solutions and strengthen the degree, phase, and stage of the norms in the process. Finally, coaches need to be in conversation with team leaders about the team identity and moral atmosphere. This allows team members to build institutional value surrounding their team community, and for team members to be willing to act in accordance with norms that they have helped to shape.

Promote close and caring relationships among team members. Coaches who want to morally educate using the team moral atmosphere need to make certain they are promoting close relationships among team members. This was certainly one of the key features of the highest functioning Gustavus men's tennis moral atmospheres. Team members described themselves as being close friends, even brothers, who would do anything for each other, on and off the tennis court. They thought of the team as more than just a collection of individual friendships. These relationships were the basis for the team becoming a normative (Level 4 of institutional value) and Stage 4 community. This then led to more collective norms, higher stage reasoning, and further development into a normative community that obligated members and created identity.

For Coach Wilkinson, this process began in an unintentional fashion. The teams of the late 1970s consisted of a collection of great friendships. These relationships developed into a normative community by the 1980s. Once Coach saw the impact that these close friendships among players had on their commitment to upholding team norms, he became more intentional about promoting the community aspect of the team.

Coaches working to develop team moral atmospheres can be more intentional than Coach Wilkinson was early in his career by promoting close relationships among team members. By the late 1980s, Coach Wilkinson was encouraging returning team members to welcome new team members with formal team meetings. He also encouraged them to share travel experiences with one another when they played in tennis tournaments outside the collegiate season. Ultimately, though, the responsibility for these relationships must fall on practitioners of another type—the athletes. Coaches can establish the philosophy of the team, and the content of many team norms. Yet the close relationships that lead to high-level institutional valuing and collective norms that promote high-level community functioning must come from team members. Coaches can engage the team in team building exercises and formal meetings, but the team must also build itself away from the court or field of play. The highest functioning Gustavus men's tennis moral atmospheres had this characteristic, and they developed it primarily by team leaders and upperclassmen that then passed the norm and expectation on to younger team members. Coaches aiming to develop a team moral atmosphere need to create formal activities and team building exercises to promote close relationships among team members. They also need to encourage leaders and all team members to develop these relationships apart from the coach and formal team activities. This is a key ingredient in

building both components—institutional value and collective norms—of a moral atmosphere. Team members need to care deeply for each other and their community as a whole if they are to shape the team culture into a high-functioning moral atmosphere that will improve their moral functioning. As the results of the present study show, team members are more likely to maintain a high-functioning moral atmosphere if it is "theirs."

Create a moral atmosphere based on team norms and institutional value. The results from the present study strongly suggest that teams wishing to create high-functioning moral atmospheres need to intentionally promote team members' institutional value of the program in addition to the team's collective norms. As discussed in Chapter Two, researchers have, to this point, largely ignored the institutional value aspect of moral atmosphere. Instead, they have focused primarily on collective norms. As moral atmosphere research begins to include the institutional value component, perhaps informed and well-trained coaches will become more intentional about developing higher stage team communities with members that institutionally value their teams at higher levels.

Coaches can develop institutional value by first becoming more aware of their team's level of institutional value and stage of community through observation and discussion. Once they gain some understanding as to how team members perceive their membership in the community and how this membership does or does not inspire them to uphold the team's norms, then coaches will be able to create a plan for improving or maintaining their team's institutional value. Based on the results of the present study, it would be useful for coaches to engage team members in discussions about team identity.

Coaches should also use narrative to communicate the importance of team members perceiving the team as an entity distinct from the relationships of team members, and that upholding team norms impacts more than just the individual—it impacts the entire community and its identity. Adding intentional focus to a team's institutional value will allow coaches to improve the team's moral atmosphere by giving team members a stronger sense of the community they represent as they compete and function as a team.

Be patient, expect moral atmosphere fluidity, and keep an eye on the big picture. Once coaches put in place the moral philosophy, empower leadership, encourage close relationships among team members, and create strong levels of institutional valuing to go along with collective team norms, they need to be patient when developing their team moral atmosphere. Coach Wilkinson had a moral philosophy and a goal of doing more than producing great tennis players. He wanted to morally educate them. By the time he understood the power of the team community (moral atmosphere) as the key mechanism for accomplishing this goal, he was more than 10 years into his tenure as head coach. Once he began to focus more intentionally on improving both the team as a moral community and the individual moral functioning of team members, the team moral atmosphere evolved. Still, he did not have a team with the highest levels of institutional valuing, and all collective norms (of the 16 analyzed) that were expected, upheld, and reasoned at the conventional level, until 20 years later—30 years into his head coaching career.

If coaches wishing to intentionally create a moral atmosphere take the measures suggested by the results of the present study, they must also be patient in recognizing that a high-functioning moral atmosphere does not happen overnight. Teams need to go

through competitive and internal dilemmas that force team members to experience team norms in action. They need time to develop close relationships that can grow into a family and a moral community. They need to understand who they are as a group and how this identity is lived out in day-to-day operations and when difficult dilemmas arise. The process takes time and lived experiences in addition to the suggested steps described in this section.

Despite the amount of time it took Coach Wilkinson, a morally intentional coach, to develop the Gustavus men's tennis team moral atmosphere, future coaches need not be discouraged. In fact, the present study can help accelerate the process for future coaches. Coach Wilkinson was intentional with his philosophy, but developed his understanding of the team culture on the fly, through trial and error. Oftentimes this development was in response to the challenges that difficult team members posed for him and their team culture. A team moral atmosphere eventually emerged, and the present retrospective analysis allows for the elements of that atmosphere to become available and more easily and quickly implemented by future coaches. Certainly time and experience will still be needed for more high functioning sport moral atmospheres to develop, but with a more intentional blueprint for how these atmospheres develop, function, evolve and are shared, the process of developing and implementing them can be expedited.

It is important to note that Coach Wilkinson developed his philosophy through his own experiences as a player, but admits that his collegiate experience did not involve membership in a team moral atmosphere. He played collegiately at the University of Iowa for Coach Don Klotz, who, Wilkinson (2014) reports, taught him pieces of his philosophy of competition and respect for opponents. Yet Wilkinson and his Iowa

teammates were never close friends. In fact, he spent very little time with them outside of tennis practices and matches. Although a coach with a moral philosophy influenced them, they were not a moral community. Without experiencing a team moral atmosphere as a player, Wilkinson did not have a model for establishing a moral atmosphere when he became a coach. This certainly impacted the length of time that it took Wilkinson to establish a moral atmosphere in the Gustavus tennis team community. As more coaches in more sports begin to intentionally create team moral atmospheres, more athletes will experience these atmospheres during their playing careers. This will result in a greater likelihood of future coaches having been a part of a team moral atmosphere at some point, and in turn having some model of how to create one for the teams they eventually coach. As more athletes have experience in a moral atmosphere during their playing careers, they will hopefully be able to expedite the process of creating moral atmospheres as coaches by having a plan in place and a model to follow during the early stages of their coaching careers.

Another important result of the present study that coaches wishing to create team moral atmospheres should note is that team moral atmospheres are fluid based on team members. Collegiate teams always have new members arriving and old team members graduating or moving on. The composition of each year's team community differs based on team personnel. This can lead to changes in the team's moral atmosphere, such as those experienced in Gustavus Men's Tennis in the late 2000s.

Following the strongest team moral atmosphere in Wilkinson's 39-year tenure was a team that had in-depth understanding of team norms, but that did not have high-level institutional valuing, or phase and stage of their norms. The result was a lower

functioning moral atmosphere than that of the previous era's teams. Coaches need to be aware of these changes and willing to respond to them. Coach Wilkinson went to great lengths to get these teams and their leaders to embrace the team norms and identity, but the individual members struggled to reason or institutionally value the team at high enough levels to do so. Adjusting his approach to be more basic with communicating the importance of and meaning behind team norms and the team's identity might have helped prevent the regression in the team's moral atmosphere. Ultimately, coaches need to be aware that while a high-functioning moral atmosphere is the best way to help new team members understand a high-functioning moral atmosphere, it does not guarantee that new team members and leaders will carry it forward. If regression should occur to an established team moral atmosphere, coaches should consider going back to clearly communicating and modeling their philosophy, engaging and empowering leaders, and provide appropriate and clearly communicated consequences for team members who do not follow team norms. In some cases, however, removing team members from the moral community may be the only way forward if the team is to remain a high-functioning moral community. The argument against this course of action, however, is that these individuals then have no chance of being morally educated by way of the team's moral atmosphere. Ultimately, these coaches will need to re-establish high-level institutional valuing and team norms in the same ways in which they established them in the first place—through commitment, clear communication, modeling, empowering of leaders, and working patiently with team members to build close relationships, team identity, and lived responses to the dilemmas of competition and team functioning.

A final implication of the present dissertation study for practitioners, especially coaches, looking to establish team moral atmospheres to help morally educate players is that the results suggest that moral education through a sport moral atmosphere has a lasting impact on team members. All of the players interviewed in the present study, from the early 1970s forward, believed that their experience with Gustavus Tennis positively impacted their lives beyond their playing careers. They continued to institutionally value their membership in the program, to cherish their special, lasting relationships with teammates, and to uphold and apply certain team norms in competition and other communities after their collegiate playing careers had finished. Each team member that I interviewed for the present study, from the late 1970s forward, expressed in some fashion, that their time on the team continues to positively inform and influence their competitive and community moral behavior. Nigel, a team member from the late 2000s' teams that struggled to maintain a high-functioning moral atmosphere, illustrates this lasting positive impact despite not upholding all team norms while he was a team member:

> I'm really grateful for it. It is part of the calculus of my moral compass…it is part of the idea of what I seek to do….My participation in Gustavus Tennis is part of my perspective in how I try to treat other people, and how I try to treat myself.

Furthermore, all team members of the Gustavus moral atmosphere from the late 1970s forward expressed great appreciation for the relationships they developed with teammates and that those friendships continue to enhance their lives, in some cases over 30 years following their graduations. Albert, of the early 2000s, describes the impact these relationships had on his life after his time on the team ended:

> It was really a privilege to be a part of Gustavus Tennis….I think, in terms of all the things that it meant to me, it meant gaining new friendships and a fostering, sort of continuing, continuing friendships….And establishing a family…my best friends are people that I went to college with and played tennis with and went through these life experiences with.

Based on these responses from the analysis of the Gustavus tennis moral atmosphere, coaches should commit to being patient and realizing that despite the constant extra work and challenges that accompany developing and maintaining a high functioning team moral atmosphere, the long term results—which are, admittedly, anecdotal at this relatively early stage in sport moral atmosphere research—point to improved relationships, higher moral reasoning, and people who remain attached to the program long after their playing days are over. These benefits and results herein should serve as an inspiration for practitioner coaches to continue doing the challenging work of moral education in and through sport by creating and maintaining a high-functioning team moral atmosphere.

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Appendix A

Coach Steve Wilkinson's Service in National Tennis Committees and Halls of Fame Inductions

- United States Professional Tennis Association (USPTA) national executive committee (1976–93)
- United States Tennis Association (USTA) national committee member serving senior competition, intercollegiate tennis, awards, and junior recreation (1973–2011)
- National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) coaches' association president (1979–80)
- Intercollegiate Tennis Association (ITA) national executive committee (1980–93)
- Head Racket advisory committee (1974–93)
- Wilson Racket advisory committee (1993–2011)
- Seminar presenter at USTA teachers' conference and USPTA national conventions (1980–98)
- Elected to the Iowa Tennis Hall of Fame (1974)
- Elected to USTA Northern Section Hall of Fame (1983)
- Elected to USTA Missouri Valley Section Hall of Fame (1999)
- Awarded International Tennis Hall of Fame's Tennis Education Merit Award (2009)
- Elected to the Intercollegiate Tennis Hall of Fame (2010)
- Awarded USPTA President's Award (2011)
- Elected to USPTA Hall of Fame (2013)

Appendix B

University of Minnesota IRB Approval Letter

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

Human Research Protection Program
Office of the Vice President for Research

D528 Mayo Memorial Building
420 Delaware Street S.E.
MMC 820
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Office: 612-626-5654
Fax: 612-625-6061
E-mail: irb@umn.edu or ihr@umn.edu
Website: http://research.umn.edu/subjects/

November 19, 2013

Tommy Valentini
Kinesiology
Room 226 CookeH
2061
1900 University Ave S E
Minneapolis, MN 55455

RE: "A Qualitative Examination of a Collegiate Team's Sport Moral Atmosphere"
IRB Code Number: 1310P45025

Dear Mr. Valentini

The referenced study was reviewed by expedited review procedures and approved on November 18, 2013. If you have applied for a grant, this date is required for certification purposes as well as the Assurance of Compliance number which is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325, Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA 00004003). Approval for the study will expire one year from that date. A report form will be sent out two months before the expiration date.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval of this study includes the consent forms and recruitment materials received October 25, 2013.

The IRB would like to stress that subjects who go through the consent process are considered enrolled participants and are counted toward the total number of subjects, even if they have no further participation in the study. Please keep this in mind when calculating the number of subjects you request. This study is currently approved for 15 subjects. If you desire an increase in the number of approved subjects, you will need to make a formal request to the IRB.

The code number above is assigned to your research. That number and the title of your study must be used in all communication with the IRB office.

As the Principal Investigator of this project, you are required by federal regulations to inform the IRB of any proposed changes in your research that will affect human subjects. Changes should not be initiated until written IRB approval is received. Unanticipated problems and adverse events should be reported to the IRB as they occur. Research projects are subject to continuing review and renewal. If you have any questions, call the IRB office at 612-626-5654.

On behalf of the IRB, I wish you success with your research.

Sincerely,

Christina Dobrovolny, CIP
Research Compliance Supervisor
CD/bw

CC: Nicole LaVoi

Appendix C

University of Minnesota IRB Change in Protocol Approval

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Route this form to: See instructions below | Revised October 2013

Change In Protocol Request

Instructions:

Use this form when submitting change requests to approved IRB protocols. This form is for use when the changes are initiated by the PI. Do not use this form to respond when changes are requested by the IRB. Please do not use this form when responding to changes requested in a stipulation or deferral letter.

Submit this form to the Human Research Protection Program:

U.S. Mail Address: or
Human Research Protection Program
MMC 820
420 Delaware St. SE
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0392

Electronic Submission:
Submit to: irb@umn.edu
PI must submit request using University of Minnesota e-mail Account.

The UMN IRB reviewed and APPROVED this submission including all attachments listed on this form by expedited review.
By Jeffery Perkey on Jan 23, 2014

IRB Protocol Information

IRB Study Number:	1310P45025
Principal Investigator:	Thomas Patrick Valentini
Primary Study Title:	A Qualitative Examination of a Collegiate Team's Sport Moral Atmosphere
Date of this Submission	1/3/2013
Study Includes	☐ Drug(s) / Biologic(s) ☐ Device(s)

Indicate the type of change(s)	Additional information/requirements
☒ Change(s) to Study Procedures/Protocol Amendment Protocol Version , Dated	**Does the change affect study design, change the study endpoint(s) or change the statistical method?** ☒ **No** ☐ Yes **Is this protocol under Masonic Cancer Center's Cancer Protocol Review Committee (CPRC) review?** ☒ No ☐ Yes, CPRC # If "Yes" is checked for *both* questions above, this submission (Change in Protocol form and any supporting documentation) must be reviewed by CPRC (CCPRC@umn.edu) prior to review by the IRB. CPRC will forward this submission to the IRB after CPRC approval. Submission to CPRC must meet the IRB signature requirement (signed by the PI or sent from the PI's x.500 UMN email account).
☐ Notice of Closure to Accrual	
☐ Recruitment changes/Advertisements	Attach a copy of the revised material (flyer, script, etc.) with the submission
☐ Revised Investigator Brochure	Version , Dated
☐ Updated consent form	Include both an updated form with changes highlighted and a "clean" version
☒ Other	Briefly Describe:An increase in subjects to be interviewed from maximum of 15 to maximum of 18.

1. **Briefly summarize the change(s). For protocol amendments, do not say "See summary of changes provided with amendment." Rather, summarize the nature of the significant revisions.**

Originally I proposed interviewing 10-15 subjects, but after working through the selection process, it became clear that a slight adjustment should be made in order to include an equal number of Gustavus men's tennis alumni from each of the four decades that compose the team culture being studied in this project. No changes to the interview guide, consent forms, or recruitiment forms/protocol are being requested - only an increase in the number of subjects to be interviewed.

2. **Describe the rationale for the change(s):**

The increase from a maximum of15 interviews to a possible maximum of 18 will allow for 16 players and the former head Coach Wilkinson to be interviewed, as well as a possible additional subject should another interview be needed for clarification. This increase of a maximum of three interviews allows for an equal distribution of subjects across the time period being studied thereby improving the understanding of the team's moral atmosphere during that time.

3. **How will these changes affect the overall risk to subjects in this study?**

The proposed changes will not affect the overall risk to the subjects already in the study in any way.

4. **Do the changes to the study prompt changes to the consent form(s)?**

☒ **No.**
☐ **Yes. If yes:**

- **Attach a copy of the revised consent form(s) with changes tracked or highlighted as well as a clean copy.**

4.1 Will currently enrolled subjects will be notified of the changes?
☒ **No**
☐ **Yes, explain below how they will be notified** (i.e. subjects will be re-consented with the updated form once approved, subjects will be provided with an information sheet, subjects will be told of changes at next study visit, etc.).

5. **List and attach all documents included with this request, including version dates:**

_____ _____
Principal Investigator's Signature **Date**

Cancer Protocol Review Committee (CPRC) Use Only:

Appendix D

Email Recruitment Script to Gustavus Adolphus College Men's Tennis Alumni for Peer Nomination

EMAIL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE MEN'S TENNIS ALUMNI FOR PEER NOMINATION

Dear Gustavus Men's Tennis Alumni,

My name is Tommy Valentini. As you likely know, I am the current head coach of our program here at Gustavus. I am also working on my PhD dissertation at the University of Minnesota's School of Kinesiology. I am conducting my dissertation project on the moral culture of collegiate teams like ours at Gustavus.

I'm writing to ask for your assistance. Please take a few moments to identify two or three team members (you may nominate yourself) from your time on the team who you believe would be able to provide in-depth, detailed information on the following:

-How the team conducted itself on and off the court.
-Any dilemmas or key controversial sportsmanship or behavior events your team experienced.
-What it meant and still means to be a part of the Gustavus tennis program.
-How being a part of the program influenced (and perhaps still influences) one's moral and ethical decision-making.
-The expectations your teammates had surrounding how team members should behave/carry themselves in terms of sportsmanship, treatment of teammates and opponents, and in approaching ethical dilemmas on and off court.

Please note that I am looking for teammates you feel could best speak to and provide information on the topics listed above. Your nominations do not need to be teammates who best represented or lived out the program's values (although they could be). I am looking for your teammates who can best discuss and describe the team in the ways described above.

Please identify the teammates you feel could best speak to the subjects described above:
1.
2.
3.

Please note that your responses/nominations will be kept confidential. Neither Coach Wilkinson nor other alumni will have access to the responses. Only my advisor and I will have access to the responses so that we can tally the nominations each individual

receives in order to identify possible interviewees for the project. I would be most appreciative if you would respond to this email with your nominations within 7 days.

Thanks for your time and support of my research.

Sincerely,

Tommy Valentini

Appendix E

Consent Form (Coach)

CONSENT FORM

A Qualitative Examination of a Collegiate Sport Team's Moral Atmosphere

Invitation:

You are invited to be in a research study of the moral atmosphere of the Gustavus Adolphus College men's tennis team. You were selected as a possible participant because you because you were the head coach of the program from 1970-2009, and I am looking for information and insight on how you developed and maintained the team's culture, how the team operated and functioned on and off the court during your time with the team, any dilemmas or key controversial sportsmanship or behavior instances that your team experienced, and how being a part of the program influenced the moral and ethical decision making of your players.

This study is being conducted by: Tommy Valentini, PhD Candidate in the School of Kinesiology at the University of Minnesota.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is: to examine the moral culture of a collegiate sports team and that culture's influence on individual team members.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things: Participate in a 1-2 hour interview in person or over the phone, and possibly answer follow-up questions at a later date.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

The study has minimal risks: As a participant, you are not asked to disclose any information that you do not wish to discuss.

The benefits to participation are: You wlll have an opportunity to contemplate your own moral development and that of your collegiate tennis team. In so doing, you may grow in your understanding of your own moral development and that of one of your communities.

Compensation:

You will not receive payment for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject, if you, as a subject choose to remain anonymous through the use of a pseudonym. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Study data will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality. Your interview will be audio taped and transcribed. Only the Principal Investigator and my doctoral committee will have access to the recording and transcript. Data will be kept digitally for 3 years from completion of research and all records will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality, and data will be password protected on a secure computer accessible only to the Principal Investigator.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota, Gustavus Adolphus College, or Gustavus Men's Tennis. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Tommy Valentini. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact him at 402-730-3314, or valen081@umn.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Nicole M. LaVoi at 612-626-6055 or nmlavoi@umn.edu.
If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator:_____ Date: _____

Appendix F

Interview Guide for Coach Steve Wilkinson

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GUSTAVUS COACH (1970-2009) DR. STEVE WILKINSON

-Begin with permission, paperwork.

-Move into informal conversation about Coach Wilkinson's time as Gustavus coach, and what has been going on in his life since he finished his time at Gustavus. This is designed to warm up the interviewee for the interview, set a conversational tone, and could provide some useful data (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

-Introductory Remarks:

Interviewer: Thanks so much for taking the time to talk with me today. I'm looking to learn more about the Gustavus men's tennis team during your time as head coach. In addition to you, I'm planning on talking with some alumni from every decade that you coached in order to get a well-rounded perspective. I'll mostly be asking you about some of the situations, incidents, or issues that came up during your time as head coach. I have some questions that will direct our conversation, but I may or may not ask all of them. It's likely and acceptable for the interview to take on the feel of a naturally developing conversation. By the way, if there's anything that I don't specifically ask about that you'd like to add or think I should know, please feel free to do so. Also, know that you don't have to answer any question you don't want to, and if you want to stop the interview at any time, we certainly can. Alright, here we go…

Main Question #1: (Institutional Value)
What has it meant to you to be the head coach at Gustavus for 39 years?

Possible Probes:
Can you explain that in more detail? You mentioned…What do you mean when you say…? Can you give me an example?

Main Question #2:
What have been the key principles and values, or the main philosophy that you have tried to teach your players over the years?

Possible Probes:

How did you arrive at this philosophy? Did you set out, as a coach, to build a program around this philosophy? How did you develop it? How did your players respond to this philosophy? How do you think this philosophy has shaped the identity of the Gustavus men's tennis community?

Main Question #3:
Think of the early days, your first few teams. What was it like when you were trying to get them to understand and act on the philosophy?

Possible Probes:
Did you already know what you were doing, in terms of creating a culture around this approach, when you started? How did the players on those early teams respond to your approach?

Main Question #4:
When did you feel you were really hitting your stride with building the moral culture of the team? When did you start to feel like it was taking shape as you envisioned?

Possible Probes:
What were some of the signs? What were some of the key moments? Are there any players that helped significantly with these moments?

Main Question #5: ( )
Please describe the methods you've used in your attempt to morally educate your players over the years. Essentially, how have you taught what you described in your previous answers on a daily basis through the medium of college tennis in your program?

Possible Probes:
How well do you feel method (…) worked? How did your players respond to it? Can you be more specific about (…)?

Main Question #6: ( )
Can you describe some of the key moral dilemmas or on/off court situations that occurred during your time as head coach that have influenced the development of Gustavus Tennis into a moral community, or an environment in which you can teach values and your philosophy?

Possible Probes:
You've written about Mark Kruger's now famous match point, and your defaulting of Miller/Hearn when they could've beaten a Division I team. What were these moments like for you? How did their teammates respond? Were there other situations that were similar? Were other decisions more difficult? I know that lineup decisions are often challenging. Can you talk about them? How about cutting someone from the team for behavioral reasons? Can you talk about any other difficult decisions that you have had to make in terms of sacrificing winning or results in order to maintain/stay true to your philosophy?

Main Question #7:
Can you describe your expectation of how a member of your program should behave/carry himself during competition and off the court?

Possible Probes:
How would say the players understood these expectations? What expectations did you perceive them having of each other when it came to how they competed and how they carried themselves?

Main Question #8:
During the course of your career, how did you feel that incoming team members "got it" in terms of the moral the culture of the team, the expectations for them, and your approach?

Possible Probes:
How long did it usually take them to be "in tune" with the team culture? Did you notice any difference over time in how new members were able to pick up the culture and expectations?

Main Question #9:
I know there may be more than we can discuss, but could you describe some players you've coached over the years that exemplify what it means to be member of the Gustavus Tennis Program?

Possible Probes:
What were their roles on the team? How did they influence their teammates? Can you describe any specific situations where they helped shape the community or upheld the team's norms for behavior?

Main Question #10:
Can you describe some of the biggest success stories or individuals who have grown the most morally or ethically as a result of being in the program?

Possible Probes:
How do you think the community influenced their development? What particular instances stand out for you as your reflect on their growth? What were the key changes they made?

Main Question #11:
Were there any times during the course of your career when you worried about the culture of the team or when the norms of the team were in jeopardy?

Possible Probes:
What do you think led to these situations? How did you handle them in short term and in the long term?

Main Question #12:
Can you speak a bit about the program as a community? How does the community of past and present players shape or influence the ethical/moral development of those who come through the program?

Possible Probes:
Do you see this influence extend past their time on the team? Are you the one primarily responsible for this? What role do teammates and alumni have in shaping the community?

Main Question #13:
The term family has been used often in describing the program and people involved in it. Can you describe what this means and why this term might or might not be appropriate from your perspective?

Possible Probes:
Did you set out to intentionally create a family? If it does exist, what do you think allowed it to develop? Can you be more specific about (…).

Concluding the interview**:**
Because of my relationship with Coach Wilkinson, most other background information will be known at the time of the interview or can be obtained at any time. Thus it will likely be left out of the formal interview process in order to avoid unnecessary questioning. If, however, some demographic information is unknown or needs to be recorded, I would likely obtain it at this time to help ease the participant out of the interview.

Interviewer:
Thanks again so much for taking the time to talk with me. It has been very helpful for my work. After I produce the transcript from our conversation, I'll be sure to give you the opportunity to have a look at it and read it over. I'll let you know as soon as it's ready. Also, would it be alright if we sit down and talk again in the not too distant future if it's necessary to ask you a few follow up questions about some pieces of our conversation from today? Thanks again for your time.

Appendix G

EMAIL SCRIPT FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW REQUEST OF GUSTAVUS TENNIS ALUMNI

Dear Gustavus Men's Tennis Alum,

My name is Tommy Valentini. As you may know, I am the head coach of our program at Gustavus. Based on having received an email from me a short while ago, you may also know that I am conducting research for my dissertation in Kinesiology at the University of Minnesota.

I am writing to you because you have been nominated by your peers and/or by your head coach during your time as a member of the Gustavus men's tennis team, Dr. Steve Wilkinson, as a member of the Gustavus men's tennis team who would be able to provide information about the following topics:

- How the team operated and functioned on and off the court during your time on the team
-Any dilemmas or key controversial sportsmanship or behavior instances that your team experienced
-How Coach Wilkinson and your teammates shaped the way the team conducted itself in terms of sportsmanship, ethical decision making, and in general interactions with each other and opposing teams
-What it meant and still means to be a part of the Gustavus tennis program
-What moral and ethical expectations team members had of one another and how being a part of the program influenced (and perhaps still influences) your moral and ethical decision making.

I write to ask sincerely for your participation in a research study to deepen understanding of the moral culture of teams such as Gustavus.

This study will provide a much-needed exploration of a program that seeks to engage in moral education of both the team community and its individual members at a time when college athletics is facing media attention for unethical behavior by both athletes and programs.

To my knowledge, no studies have been conducted to learn about the moral education of team through a program's moral atmosphere. I anticipate that by learning more about your perspectives, not only other coaches, but also athletic directors, college administrators, coach educators, student-athletes, and the education and coaching professions on the whole will benefit from better understanding a team's moral culture.

Your participation in this study will help the college sports community and its stakeholders understand how to pursue the moral education of their team communities and individual athletes.

Your participation is completely voluntary. Participation involves a personal interview with the researcher that will last approximately one to two hours. Follow-up questions may be requested via email or telephone. Please note that all information you share will be held in strict confidence, and you will have the opportunity to review the interview transcript and clarify your responses. Should you wish, you may choose to use a pseudonym in any publication resulting from this study. Prior to participating in the study, you will also be asked to read and sign a consent form.

This study has been approved by the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board. Should you have any questions about my research, please contact me by email at valen081@umn.edu or contact my advisor, Dr. Nicole LaVoi at nmlavoi@umn.edu.

To participate, please complete the attached form and return it via scanned email attachment to valen081@umn.edu or by fax to (507) 933-8412 Attn. Tommy Valentini, or mail to Tommy Valentini, 800 W. College Ave. Saint Peter, MN 56082.

Thank you for your consideration in taking part in this research. If you choose to participate, I will contact you upon receiving your consent form in order to arrange the time and place to conduct your interview.

Sincerely,

Tommy Valentini

Appendix H:

Consent Form (Alumni)

CONSENT FORM (ALUMNI)

A Qualitative Examination of a Collegiate Sport Team's Moral Atmosphere

Invitation:

You are invited to be in a research study of the moral atmosphere of the Gustavus Adolphus College men's tennis team. You were selected as a possible participant because you have been nominated by your peers and/or by your head coach during your time as a member of the Gustavus men's tennis team, Dr. Steve Wilkinson, as a member of the Gustavus men's tennis team who would be able to provide information about how the team operated and functioned on and off the court during your time on the team, any dilemmas or key controversial sportsmanship or behavior instances that your team experienced, and how being a part of the program influenced your moral and ethical decision making.

This study is being conducted by: Tommy Valentini, PhD Candidate in the School of Kinesiology at the University of Minnesota.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is: to examine the moral culture of a collegiate sports team and that culture's influence on individual team members.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things: Participate in a 1-2 hour interview in person or over the phone, and possibly answer follow-up questions at a later date.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

The study has minimal risks: As a participant, you are not asked to disclose any information that you do not wish to discuss.

The benefits to participation are: You wlll have an opportunity to contemplate your own moral development and that of your collegiate tennis team. In so doing, you may grow in your understanding of your own moral development and that of one of your communities.

Compensation:

You will not receive payment for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject, if you, as a subject choose to remain anonymous through the use of a pseudonym. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Study data will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality. Your interview will be audio taped and transcribed. Only the Principal Investigator and my doctoral committee will have access to the recording and transcript. Data will be kept digitally for 3 years from completion of research and all records will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality, and data will be password protected on a secure computer accessible only to the Principal Investigator.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota, Gustavus Adolphus College, or Gustavus Men's Tennis. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Tommy Valentini. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact him at, 402-730-3314, or valen081@umn.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Nicole M. LaVoi at 612-626-6055 or nmlavoi@umn.edu.
If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator:_____ Date: _____

Appendix I

Interview Guide for Gustavus Men's Tennis Alumni, 1970-2009

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GUSTAVUS MEN'S TENNIS ALUMNI, 1970-2009

-Begin with permission, paperwork.

-Move into informal conversation about the player's time and teammates at Gustavus, what has been going on in his life since he finished his time at Gustavus, and as of late. This is designed to warm up the interviewee for the interview, set a conversational tone, and could provide some useful data (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

-Introductory Remarks:

Interviewer: Thanks so much for taking the time to talk with me today. I'm looking to learn more about the Gustavus men's tennis team during your time in the program. In addition to you, I'm talking with some alumni from every decade that Wilk coached to get a well-rounded perspective. I have some questions that will direct our conversation, but I may or may not ask all of them. It's likely and acceptable for the interview to take on the feel of a naturally developing conversation. If there's anything that I don't specifically ask you about that you'd like to add or think I should know, please feel free to do so. When I write about our conversation, you and any teammates you mention and we discuss will all have pseudonyms, so no one will be mentioned by his real name. Also, know that you don't have to answer any question you don't want to, and if you want to stop the interview at any time, we certainly can. Alright, here we go…

Main Question #1 (Institutional Value):
What does it mean to you to have been a member of the Gustavus Tennis Team?

Possible Probes: Can you explain that in more detail? You mentioned…What do you mean when you say…? Can you give me an example?

Main Question #2 (Institutional Value/Collective Norm - content):
How did members of the team treat each other and interact with each other while you were on the team?

Possible Probes:
Can you describe a specific situation where you thought someone was being a good teammate? A not-so-great teammate? You mentioned that teammates (….) each other. Why do you think this is the case?

Main Question #3 (Institutional Value/Collective Norms):
Describe for me, if you can, of a time where you faced a controversial situation about a line call or unsportsmanlike behavior involving you, your opponent, or both of you during a match against outside competition.

Possible probes: Did you know what was expected of you, as a member of the Gustavus team, in this situation? How did you know? How did you decide what to do or how to handle the situation? Did being a member of the Gustavus team impact how you decided to act in this case? What did you end up doing? Did you feel the team supported your decision on how to handle things? Would your other teammates have acted the same way? Can you describe a similar situation that a teammate faced? Would everyone on the team handle this situation the same way? Who would? Who wouldn't? Why or why not?

Main Question #4 (Collective Norm/Institutional Value):
Paint me a picture. What is expected of a member of the Gustavus Men's Tennis team when it comes to on and off court behaviors? (or sportsmanship?)

Possible probes: How did you and your teammates respond to these expectations? How did they influence your action/behavior? Can you explain that in more detail? What, specifically, does … mean? (If) You mentioned line calls, why are line calls such an important issue? Does everyone adhere to what you described? Can you give me an example of a teammate who exemplifies what you described? How do you know that this is how Gustavus Tennis team members act?

Main Question #5 (Collective Norms - degree of collectiveness/norm content/phase of commitment):
Talk to me about how you were expected to treat/interact with your opponents, before, during, and after matches.

Possible Probes: How did you act on these expectations? Did this treatment differ when you played matches against teammates as opposed to outside competition? You mentioned (....) can you say a little bit about what you mean when you say (….), or give me an example of what this (....) looks like. Can you describe me a situation or give me an example? Would you say your teammates acted the same way? Does being a member of the Gustavus team influence how you handle these interactions?

Main Question#6 (Collective Norm - norm content/phase of commitment):
Can you describe a situation where you felt you or a teammate acted in a way that didn't represent what the team is all about? It could be during a match, practice, or off the court.

Possible Probes:

How did your teammates respond to this situation? Did you or anyone else talk to the guy in question? If you were the one who stepped in a situation like this and made it clear that someone "didn't get it" in terms of their understanding of what the team was all about, what led you to say so? Why did you step in? Why did you feel it was your responsibility? Why did you feel that you had the authority to do so? Who decides if something goes against what the team is all about? Are there certain teammates who handle these situations? How did the guys feel about this process, if a process did exist? If there was no process, how did the guys feel about that?

Main Question #7 (Institutional Value and Collective Norms):
There is room to discuss specific moral dilemmas here in this question. The dilemma depends on the player and his era/teammates. If Coach Wilkinson or I cannot identify one prior to the interview for this particular alum, then we'll use this question:

Please describe the one or two issues or instances from your time at Gustavus that define or represent what you learned about sportsmanship while you were in the program.

Possible Probes:
Can you say more about (…) as it relates to the incident? Who else was involved? How did you decide? How did Coach respond? Were your teammates supportive? Why do you think this had such a great impact on you? How do you think you knew how to act?

If the incident centered on the team more than the individual, the following probes will be appropriate:
How did the team arrive at these decisions? What was the role of team leaders? Did you agree with how you guys handled the situation? Was the team united when it came to handling it? What do you think the incident and how you guys handled it says about Gustavus Tennis? Anything else you want to add on the situations?

Gustavus Tennis Dilemmas:

Main Question #8 - Line Call 1:
Gustavus is playing in the regional final to get to the final 8 of the NCAA team tournament. You are playing in the last doubles match on court, and the team score is tied at 1-1. You know your point could be the difference between winning and losing the team match and advancing to the national championship. You are leading 6-5 and have a break point to go up 7-5 and serve for the match. Your doubles partner makes an out call on the opponents' first volley, but you clearly saw the ball in.

Questions:
A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know this is the expectation?

C. What do you do in this situation and why?

D. Is it wrong to overrule your partner and send the game back to deuce? Why or why not?

E. What would your coach want you to do in this situation? Why?

F. What would most of your Gustavus teammates want you to do in this situation?

G. What do you think your teammates would do in this situation?

Main Question #9 - Line Call 2:
Gustavus is playing in the semifinal round of the NCAA Team Championships. You are playing at #5 singles and the team match is tied at 4-4. Your match determines the winning team. Tension mounts as you enter the third set tie break. At 6-6 in the breaker, the most critical point of a long, hard-fought match, your opponent calls your passing shot wide, giving him match point for your match and the team dual match. You are certain that the ball was on the line.

A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know that this is what is expected of you?

C. How do you respond to his bad call, and why?

D. Is it wrong to argue with the opponent over his call? Why or why not?

E. Is it wrong to accept what you know is an incorrect call in such a crucial situation for your team? Why or why not?

F. What would your coach want you to do in this situation?

G. How would most of your Gustavus teammates want you to respond?

H. What would your teammates do in this situation?

Main Question #10 - Racket Throw:
Gustavus is playing in the MIAC playoff championship. You are on court at #4 singles and you are not playing your best tennis. You feel like your effort has been good, but you are not hitting the ball well, and making too many easy, yet very costly errors. Down a set and facing a break point mid-way through the second set, you shank a forehand (your

best shot) well wide. Frustration boils over and you are about to throw your racket hard into the ground toward the back fence.

A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know that this is what is expected of you?

C. What do you do in this situation and why?

D. Is it wrong to throw your racket?

E. What does throwing your racket communicate, if anything, to your opponent?

F. Would it be different if it were a practice match against a teammate?

G. What would your Gustavus Teammates want you to do in this situation and why?

H. What would your coach want you to do in this situation and why?

I. What would your teammates do in this situation? Why? How do you know?

Main Question #11 - Opponent out of rackets:

Gustavus is playing in the regional finals with hopes of advancing to the NCAA national championships. You are playing at #3 singles and mid-way through your first set, you notice that your opponent breaks a string. He then begins playing with his back-up racket. A few games later, he hits a return of serve off the frame and cracks his last racket. He asks his coach for another rackety from a teammate, but no one on his team uses the same model. So his coach brings over some options for him, but nothing similar to his own racket. You actually do use the same model. You have 2 more strung rackets in your bag.

A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know that this is what is expected of you?

C. What do you do in this situation and why?

D. Is it wrong to give one of your rackets to your opponent? Why or why not?

E. What would your Gustavus teammates expect or want you to do in this situation? Why?

F. What would your coach want you to do in this situation?

G. What would your teammates do in the situation? Why? How do you know?

Main Question #12 - Teammate not all in:
One of your Gustavus teammates does not seem to fit in with the guys. He's a bit of a loner and doesn't seem to see the importance of team rituals such as warm-ups and watching matches of teammates when he's not in the lineup for a particular dual match. You are in his biology class and are aware that he struggles in that course. You are the best biology student on the team. You have an important biology test coming up and he needs help studying in order to pass the exam.

A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know that this is what is expected of you?

C. What do you do in this situation and why?

D. What would your Gustavus teammates expect you to do?

E. What would your coach expect you to do in this situation?

F. What would your teammates do in this situation and why?

G. How would you or your teammates approach this player about what you perceive to be his lack of care for the team and its rituals?

Main Question #13 - Drinking policy violation:
On the Friday night before a regular season conference match, three of your teammates who are in a fraternity decide that they are going out to a party to hang out with friends and have a few beers. They invite you to come along. You know that the team's alcohol policy prohibits consumption of alcohol 48 hours prior to the start of a competition. When you remind them of the policy, they tell you that they aren't going to get drunk on a few beers, and that the match is only a regular season match. Besides, they say, there's no way they'll get caught. They head to the party and tell you to meet them there if you'd like.

A. What is the expectation of you, as a member of the Gustavus tennis team, in this situation?

B. How do you know that this is what is expected of you?

C. What do you do in this situation, and why?

D. What would the rest of your Gustavus teammates expect you to do in this situation?

E. Would it be wrong to attend the party with them even if you did not drink?

F. If you choose to avoid the party, do you inform the other players or your coach that there has been a violation of the team's policy?

G. What would your Gustavus teammates do in this situation and why?

Main Question #14 (perception of change over time in program):
With regard to your responses to the dilemmas above, and/or anything else we have (or haven't discussed), did your expectations for yourself and your behavior in these situations change over the course of your time in the program?

Possible Probes:
Did you always think as you do now/at the end of your time in the program? If you don't what are the key changes? Why do you think these changes occurred?

Concluding the interview**:**
Because these are alums of the program, most other background information will be known at the time of the interview or can be obtained at any time. Thus it will likely be left out of the formal interview process in order to avoid unnecessary questioning. If, however, some demographic information is unknown or needs to be recorded, I would obtain it at this time to help ease the participant out of the interview.

Interviewer:
Thanks again so much for taking the time to talk with me. It has been very helpful for my work. After I produce the transcript from our conversation, I'll be sure to give you the opportunity to have a look at it and read it over. I'll let you know as soon as it's ready. Also, would it be alright if we sit down and talk again in the not too distant future if it's necessary to ask you a few follow up questions about some pieces of our conversation from today? Thanks again for your time.

Appendix J

Coding Sheet

CODING SHEET

I. The Valuing of the Team as an Institution (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989).

A. Levels of Institutional Valuing

Level 0) *Rejection*: The team is not valued.

Level 1) *Instrumental Extrinsic:* The team is valued as an institution that helps individuals meet their own needs.

Level 2) *Enthusiastic Identification:* The team is valued intrinsically at special moments when members feel an intense sense of identification with the team (e.g. when the team wins an important contest).

Level 3) *Spontaneous Community:* The team is valued as the type of team/place in which members feel a sense of closeness to others and an inner motivation to help them and to serve the community as a whole.

Level 4) *Normative Community:* The team as a community is valued for its own sake. Community can obligate its members in special ways, and members can expect others to uphold group norms and responsibilities.

B. The Stage of Community

Stage 1) - The team is not a community

Stage 2) - There is no clear sense of community apart from exchanges among group members.
- The community denotes a collection of individuals who do favors for each other and rely on each other for protection.
-The community is valued insofar as it meets concrete needs of members.
- Example: The team community is like a bank—members meet to exchange favors, but cannot take more than they give.

Stage 3) - The sense of community refers to a set of relationships and sharings among group members.
-The group is valued for friendliness of its members.
-The value of the group is equated with the value of collective normative expectations.

-Example: The community is a family in which members care for each other.
-Example: The community is honorable because it helps others.

Stage 4) - The community is explicitly valued as an entity distinct from the relationships among members.
- Membership in the community is understood in terms of entering into a social contract to respect the norms and ideals of the group.
- The Community is perceived as an organic whole composed of interrelated systems that carry on the functioning of the group.
-Example: Stealing affects "the community more than the individual because that is what we are. We are not just a group of individuals."

II. The Collective Norm (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989).

A. The Degree of Collectiveness

[1-5 = individual based norms or description of lack of collective norm].

1) *I—Rejection*
-No one can make a rule or agreement for the team that could be followed or taken seriously.
-No group constituency/I as an individual.

2) *I—Conscience*
-An action in accordance with a norm should not be expected or demanded by the group because it should be left to individuals' free choice.
-No group constituency/I as an individual.

3) *I—No Awareness*
-No perceptions of the existence of a shared norm on a particular issue.
-The individual does not take a position, pro or con, about the group's development of such a norm.
-The individual does not have an individual norm on the issue.
-No group constituency/I as an individual.

4) *I—Individual*
-An action should be performed which is in accordance with the norm where this action is not defined or implied by membership in the group.
-There is no suggestion that the task of the group is or should be to develop or promote the norm.
-Universal constituency applied to people in the group as much as to people outside the group/I as an individual.

5) *I—Individual Ambiguous*
-An action should be performed which is in accordance with the norm where this action is implied by membership in the group.
-Ambiguous constituency - but seems to apply to people in the group more than those outside the group/I as an individual.

[6-7 = Authority Norms]

6) *Authority*
-An action should be performed because it is expressed or demanded by the coach or administrator whose authority derives from his/her status or the law that makes the coach a superior member of the group.
-Group constituency/Coach as authority.

7) *Authority: Acceptance*
-An action should be performed because it is expected by authority or law.
-Clear implication that the group accepts this authority and thinks promoting and upholding the norms is in the best interest of the group's welfare.
-Group constituency/Coach as authority.

[8-9 = Aggregate Norms]

8) *They-Aggregate (I disagree)*
-They, the group or a substantial sub-group, have a tendency to act in accordance with a norm in a way that the individual speaker does not share or disagrees with.
-Group constituency/I as a member of the group.

9) *I and They*
-They and I have a tendency to act in the same way I accordance with a norm.
-Group constituency/I and they as members of the group.

[10-15 = Collective Norms]

10) *Limiting or Proposing I*
-The speaker thinks the team or all members of the team should follow or uphold this norm better, or should have this new norm.
-Group constituency/I am a member of the group.

11) *Spontaneous Collective*

-They or they and I feel that group members should act in accordance with the norm because they feel naturally motivated to do so as a result of the sense of belonging to the group.
-Group constituency/They and I as members of the group

12) *They—Limited Collective*
-They think that group members should act in accordance with the norm without the speaker identifying him/herself with that normative expectation.
-The speaker differentiates his/her own normative perspective.
-Group constituency/They as members of the group.

13) *I and They - Limited Collective*
-Both I and they, as members of the group, think that group/team members should act in accordance with the norm.
-Group constituency/I and they as members of the group.

14) *Implicit—We collective:*
-Members of the group think that all of us should act in accord with the norm.
-Group constituency/We (implicit) as members of the group.

15) *We Explicit—Collective*
-We, the members of THIS group, think that we should act in accordance with this norm.
- Group constituency/We (explicit) as members of the group.

B. The Content of the Norm

1) *Norms of Community*
-These include: caring, trust, integration, participation, publicity, collective responsibility, and attachment to community
-These uphold the intrinsic value of the community
-Directed toward building the harmony of the group as a community
-These norms prescribe sharing of: concerns, affections, confidence, property, communication between subgroups, time, energy, interest, knowledge of group matters, obligation, praise, and blame.
-It is through this sharing that the community is maintained and developed.

2) *Norms of Substantive Fairness*
-Respect for equal rights and liberties of individuals.
-Respect for mental and physical integrity.

-Respect for property and possessions.
-Respect for privacy and freedom.

3) *Norms of Procedural Fairness*
-Processes through which rules of the group are made and enforced.
-Examples: norms of freedom of expression, equality of power, rational dialogue.
-May apply to pragmatic association or to a community
-Based on considerations of individual rights and fairness

4) *Norms of Order*
-Protect property and promote productivity
-Protect survival and orderly functioning of the organization
-Generally focus negatively on actions that must be avoided so that the organization's existence isn't threatened and so that task related goals are achieved.
-Examples: drug use and attendance

C. The Phase of the Norm
[*The scheme of phases traces a sequence in which group members commit themselves to upholding shared norms.*]

Phase 0)—No collective norm exists or is proposed.

Phase 1)—Individuals propose collective norms for group acceptance.

Phase 2)—Collective norm is accepted as a group ideal but not agreed to. It is not an expectation for behavior.

Phase 3)—Collective norm is accepted and agreed to, but it is not (yet) and expectation for behavior.

Phase 4)—Collective norm is accepted and expected.

Phase 5)—Collective norm is expected but not followed.

Phase 6)—Collective norm is expected and upheld through persuasion.

Phase 7)—Collective norm is expected and upheld through reporting.

D. The Stage of the Norm

"Clearly any claim we wish to make for a collective stage must go beyond the intentions of the speaker to represent a collective norm and take into account reactions from other members of the group that might indicate whether or not the speaker's viewpoint is shared" (Power et al., 1989, p. 135).

Level I: *Pre-conventional*

Stage 1) Heteronomous Morality
- -Avoid breaking rules to avoid punishment
- -Egocentric—does not consider the interest of others

Stage 2) Individualism/Institutional Purpose and Exchange
- -Follow rules for the own immediate interest
- -What is right is determined by fair and equal exchange
- -Serving of one's own needs and interests—a concrete individual perspective

Level II: *Conventional*

Stage 3) Mutual Interpersonal Expectations and Relationships
- -Living up to what is expected by people close to you
- -The need to be a good person in the eyes of others
- -Golden Rule
- -Perspective of individual in relationships with other individuals
- -Does not yet consider generalized system perspective

Stage 4) Social System and Conscience
- -Fulfilling actual duties to which you've agreed
- -What is right is determined by contribution to society, group, or institution
- -Primary goal is to keep the institution going as a whole and to avoid breakdown "if everyone did it."
- -Differentiation of societal points of view from interpersonal agreement or motives.

Level III: *Post-Conventional*

Stage 5) Social Contract or Utility and Individual Rights
- -Aware that people hold a variety of opinions and that most values and rules are related to a group.
- -Sense of obligation to law because of social contract.
- -Feeling of contractual commitment (freely entered upon) to family, friendship, trust, obligation.
- -Greatest good for the greatest number.

-Prior-to-society perspective—perspective of a rational individual aware of values and rights.

Stage 6) Universal Ethical Principles

-Following self-chosen ethical principles

-When laws violate universal ethical principles, one acts in accordance with the principles.

-Universal principles of justice: equality of human rights and respect for dignity of individual humans.

-Belief that, as a rational person, in the validity of universal moral principles and a sense of commitment to them.

-Perspective of a moral point of view from which social arrangements derive.